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THE HISTORY
OF
POLITICAL LITERATURE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

(to 1700)

BY
ROBERT BLAKEY,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF MIND,"
ETC., ETC.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

WE now approach an epoch in the history of political literature, of an altogether different cast from what we have hitherto noticed. This is a period of remarkable mental activity; and books of politics, of every variety of form and matter, press upon us from all sides, and solicit our attention and criticism.

There are three great leading events, besides several minor ones, which come across the path of this historical portion of political science, and which gave a remarkable impetus to the spirit of mental inquiry generally; but particularly to matters connected with the civil rights and privileges of mankind. These events are the Protesant Reformation; the Revival of Letters in Europe; and the Discovery of Printing. These are, conjointly, of such a weighty and comprehensive character, and their ramifications and bearings on the intellectual pursuits and social condition of mankind are so various, that they eclipse or overshadow all the other mere secondary causes which mingle themselves with the general results. The first element of change excited the religious spirit to its highest pitch; the revival of letters brought before the ordinary mind of Europe all the political knowledge and

speculation of the early days of Greece and Rome ; and the establishment of printing multiplied, to an indefinite extent, the mental labours of authors and politicians of every grade and cast.

The causes of this change have been commonly ascribed, by most English writers, to the gradual influence of several circumstances which took place at this period in the history of Europe. Most of the monarchical institutions had been vastly upon the increase for a century, in consolidating and augmenting their absolute power over the people ; and this had obtained such a pitch in many countries, and had directly led to so many and such grievous acts of cruelty and political oppression, that a spirit of opposition was kindled amongst the mass of the people, and this vented itself in the publication of works breathing a decided hatred to tyrannical rulers of all grades, and showing the justice and policy of dethroning them, and even putting them to a violent death. In many of the treatises that will come before us we shall find that no terms were kept with despotic kings or rulers ; but the doctrines of open rebellion and direct and speedy vengeance were uncompromisingly advocated and enforced. The existence of these productions must be taken as an infallible proof that the majority of the people of Europe were suffering great political hardships and wrongs ; and that the ordinary exercise of monarchical power was regulated by no principles of justice and equity.

The Reformation was a momentous political element ; it gave a powerful and new impulse to the popular mind throughout the whole of Europe. The transition was quite easy and natural, from investi-

gating the moral government of the Deity, and subjecting the political institutions of men to a most rigid examination; they mutually reflected additional light on each other. The subjugation of sacerdotal power stimulated the people to endeavour to get rid of all social and public grievances; and the sacred writings afforded them examples without number, where efforts of this description were fully and unequivocally sanctioned by the divine countenance and command.

Up to the period of the termination of the fourteenth century, we have traced, in the preceding volume, the gradual formation of the ultra-montane doctrines of the catholic church—that it ought to be considered as the sole arbiter of what was politically good and expedient in every country where its power and influence were formally recognised and established. The subordinate political principles involved in the discussion of this general axiom of social philosophy had been fully developed; and every argument, and every illustration, had been employed which the most subtile and able minds, during many centuries, had been able to suggest. This dogma of christian supremacy was one of the infallible canons of the faith of mankind; and it was not only firmly rooted in their minds as a speculative truth, but its practical fruits were everywhere present to the senses, in all civil ordinances and rules of law, and the modes and customs of social life. The political power of the papacy was an ever present reality in the minds of men. It had battles to fight, controversies to settle, enemies to silence, and new converts to strengthen; but notwithstanding all these things were going on in the bosom of the

church, it was still gaining ground as a political engine, embracing within its sweeping range everything in the shape of independent thought and public opinion on matters of secular interest and importance; and one generation of able and studious men passed to the tomb after another, without ever having the slightest conception that such a thing as a political science could exist, beyond the pale of the clerical hierarchy. But the extreme length to which the doctrine of papal civil supremacy had been pushed, naturally created a reaction against it. The reason of men felt the dogma revolting to common sense. Opposition to it, however, did not altogether take its rise from purely political sources, for it was materially assisted by questions and disputes, both as to religious doctrine and ritual. These formed the spark which ignited the inflammable materials promiscuously strewed about throughout the kingdoms of Europe. Hence we find that the first regular attacks on the power of Rome were of a theological cast; but these were soon followed by another series of a decidedly political and civil character.

Throughout the entire mass of political writings, comprised in the period of history now under consideration, there are two grand doctrines pervading nearly the whole of them, like the leading arteries in the animal body, conveying life and energy to the whole frame. These are, *liberty of conscience*, and *the right of resistance to constituted authorities*; the one aiming a direct blow at the power of the church, and the other at all regularly constituted governments, and civil communities. These two ideas, possessing a certain logical and philosophical relation to each

other, were the mainsprings of the Reformation, and the prolific source of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the political treatises which made their appearance, at this time, in the several countries of Europe. Not but what there were other weighty principles of polity scattered up and down the entire range of literature; but these had little or no hold on the public mind, nor did they influence its practical movements in any perceptible degree. Everything was concentrated in the two prominent doctrines of liberty of thought, and a right to make changes in a government when a nation willed them; and the varied illustrations these two tenets received, the enthusiasm imparted to their discussion, and the struggles of life and death made for their establishment, present one of the most instructive and interesting displays of the mind of man, during the whole range of his earthly history.

It cannot fail, we conceive, to prove of advantage to the general reader, to have a bird's eye view of the leading arguments on these two grand doctrines, and of the opposite tenets by which they were combatted. This is rendered an almost indispensable arrangement, when the number of the works on these questions is taken into consideration. From the first dawn of the Reformation in Great Britain, to the year 1668, there are not less than *one thousand* distinct publications, in the English language, on the rights of conscience, and the lawfulness of civil resistance, including, of course, other works which take the opposite side of the argument. Therefore, it is beyond the scope of this treatise to give even a simple enumeration of these several literary productions, much less epitomes

of their general scope and merits. It is only the more prominent and able of these writings that can be particularised; and this, too, in a very brief and cursory manner. To have a tolerably correct abstract of the arguments on which these two great political principles rest, and the great interest attached to them, even at the present hour, are sufficient grounds of themselves for the adoption of this plan, which will likewise enable us to fill up discrepancies in the ordinary bearings of the subject, and to avoid frequent and needless repetitions.

The vital principle, then, of religious toleration or freedom, lay, as we have already stated, at the base of the Reformation, and it may, without any direct reference to particular religious sects or denominations, be expressed in the following words:—*The liberty of the human conscience from all external and legislative restraints, and the right of every man to judge and act for himself in the concerns of religion, without the interference of human authority to coerce or control him.* This is the form and substance of the axiom on which the entire fabric of religious toleration hinges.

As religious truth is the concern and business of every individual person, and as this concern lies immediately between the Creator and himself, it is requisite he should have and exercise a perfect liberty, and that in his belief and practice he should be in the fullest enjoyment of freedom, to think, judge, and act for himself. Every man's salvation is his own personal concern; every man's soul is in his own keeping. There can be no delegation of power here; no power to transfer the business in hand to any deputies or agents whatsoever. It is impossible that a matter

of this kind can be alienated ; the thing is unnatural, and beyond the province of legislation.

Religion, then, is a gift which God has given to every one in particular. It is unquestionably subject to His influences and inspirations, but with respect to everything else, it is free and independent of worldly or temporal authority. No one should enter unwillingly or ignorantly into any religious order or community ; neither ought any man, by virtue of any human right or power, be obliged to embrace a religion, or continue in it, or conform himself in everything to that which he has preferred to all others, by arms, or the authority of laws.

It is not less a man's privilege to quit a religion after having embraced it, than to profess it at first. Indeed, that person is unworthy of being a member of any spiritual society, who does not love the head of it with all his heart, and not with his lips only ; who has not courage enough to follow him everywhere, and embrace that mode of worship which is the most sound and pure. He who chooses a religion, with a desire to procure all the high advantages which it promises, may, without injuring any one, reserve a right to himself to examine whether what it teaches be exactly conformable to the truth ; and should he find it not to come up to the standard required for honest conviction, he has a perfect right to abandon it, if such be his wish or desire.

It does not follow from this, that those who enter any particular denomination of religious persons should have the privilege of absolutely doing everything according to their own whims and fancies. Whoever joins any such society should conform themselves to

its rules and doctrines. No body of men can subsist in a corporate capacity unless there be some kind of law and discipline among its members; and it is peculiarly incumbent on a school which professes to teach piety and virtue, to keep the privileges of liberty within the prescribed boundaries of honour and duty. A distinguished author says, "I would not have this misunderstood, as if I meant hereby to condemn all charitable admonitions and affectionate endeavours to reduce men from errors; which are indeed the greatest duty of a christian. Any one may employ as many exhortations and arguments as he pleases, towards promoting of another man's salvation. But all force and compulsion are to be forborne. Nothing is to be done imperiously. Nobody is obliged in that matter to yield obedience unto the admonitions or injunctions of another, further than he himself is persuaded. Every man in that has his supreme and absolute authority of judging for himself. And the reason is, because nobody else is concerned in it, nor can receive any prejudice from his conduct therein*."

With the religious freedom of men, no pretensions or powers can warrantably intermeddle. Freedom of conscience is a hallowed inclosure; a sanctuary that ought not to be violated. Men, as moral and accountable agents, must be invested with freedom; their liberty, no less than their reasoning powers and their consciousness, is an essential element in their responsibility. If they have to give an account to God for their opinions and actions they must be free to form the one, and to do the other. This is the basis of the divine government towards man, and the

* Locke.

foundation of all religion. Nothing can be a *reasonable service* to God except it be based on this principle.

Ecclesiastical power extends no further than that of giving counsel, exhortations, and peaceable instructions. When these have been all tried, and proved ineffective, then incorrigible members may be cut off from any religious community. This is all the punishment that can justly and reasonably be inflicted. If we transgress this limit, we go against nature and the true end and purposes of the theological union.

In a state of nature, that is, before laws and civil government were established, no man had any sovereign authority over the ideas his fellow-man might entertain on religious subjects. What right, then, have kings and princes over the consciences of their subjects? There is no colourable reason in giving the head of a state more power in religious matters than each person has in a state of nature.

The arguments for ecclesiastical and political authority, over matters of religious belief, are numerous, but we shall not formally enter into them, for they will come before us in other parts of this work. We shall, however, for the sake of method, enumerate the heads of a few of them.

1st,—The justice of authority, civil and sacred, for matters of faith and opinion, may be maintained from the consideration of the vital importance of salvation to those consciences which are constrained to it; and who think salvation is to be found but in the sacred books of scripture. 2nd,—A prince may not oblige us to submit to his own individual judgment, but to the

judgment of his public ministers of religion. 3rd,—The glory of the Almighty is offended and tarnished by errors and schism in theology. 4th,—Coercion in matters of opinion is justified by the foul and wicked nature of errors in religion. 5th,—The good that is done to those that err, by the adoption of compulsion, is greater than any evil that arises from the exercise of authority. 6th,—Ecclesiastical authority is requisite to correct and remove that blind obstinacy which is bound up in the hearts of those who fall into erroneous theories and systems. 7th,—Authority is involved in every person's declaration, that it is a part of his duty to maintain and disseminate the true religion. 8th,—There are laws in every community indispensably requisite to oblige men to practise virtue and abstain from vice, why not such laws restrain them in matters of religion? 9th,—It is evidently for the interests of the state, as an aggregate body, that religion should be placed under its protection and guidance. 10th,—Disputes and contentions about religion create innumerable troubles and disorders in the bosom of the church, where all should be harmony, and christian feeling. And 11th,—All idolatrous and gross superstitions should, at least, be extirpated from society, that true and rational religion may not be corrupted or damaged.

On the other great leading idea, which the majority of political writers of this epoch attempted to develope and illustrate, that is, the right of resistance, we shall make a few brief and general observations as to the prominent bearings of the entire question.

The abstract reasons for physical resistance to bad governments are very numerous, but we shall only

here point out the most obvious and striking. We may mention in the first place, that *there is a strong natural principle implanted in men's bosoms that induces them to resist oppression*. This is intended for the wisest purposes. If man were tamely to submit to every outrage inflicted upon him; if he were not to raise up the hand of resistance and rebellion against those who tyrannise over him, he would be the most wretched and pitiable creature in nature. To deny him this power, is to deny him that which the meanest animal possesses. Even the very worm turns against the foot that treads upon it. It is not necessary there should be any *reasoning process* here; *instinct* alone is quite sufficient to guide our movements and conduct under such circumstances. The feelings of anger and resentment not only prompt us to resist outrage, but also to inflict signal chastisement upon the aggressor. Why are we thus armed to protect ourselves, not only against sudden attacks, but also to lay down plans, and to take judicious precautions against future violences, so as to screen ourselves from the secret machinations of the malicious and revengeful? The reason is clearly pointed out. The great law of self-preservation is secured and maintained in all its healthful vigour, by this set of resentful feelings which are planted in our bosoms for the especial purpose of resistance.

A most beautiful provision is here made in man's social economy. Violence and resistance are the only antidotes against themselves. Men refrain from acting violently against you, because they know you are armed with the same weapon yourself, and have the same right to use it against them. The same prin-

ciple is carried into political society. We cannot see our most valuable rights trodden under foot, our most sacred privileges wrested from us, and every movement of life rendered tedious and irksome by the odious enactments of despotic power, without feeling our bosoms glow with indignation, and calling into requisition every power of limb, and arm, and tongue, and pen, we can possibly command. It is the knowledge of this power, which every man has a right to use, under certain limitations, which proves the only safeguard for civil society itself.

The dictates of natural justice sanction open and direct hostility to bad governments and rulers. It is a deep-rooted principle in our nature that all men should be honestly and fairly dealt with. A variety of manners, customs, opinions, and political institutions, may, and indeed do, make a considerable departure from perfect uniformity of judgment as to what is fair and honest; but still the general principle is sufficiently maintained for ordinary purposes of reasoning. If men in a civilised community appoint certain members of their body to fill public situations, ought not these rulers to be obedient to the general will? particularly when it is taken into consideration that this general body of men have alone that portion of *physical strength*, without which no laws, however good, wise, and beneficial, could ever be carried into operation at all. If the mass of the people see a small fraction of their body degrading, plundering, oppressing, and insulting the whole community, would not that mass be criminal in the highest degree to look indifferently and coolly on their own destruction? Rulers, under whatever name, are but servants of the

people; and would it not be a great anomaly to see the servant invested with absolute power of life and death over the master?

Another powerful argument for the right of resistance is derived from the consideration that tyranny and oppression are highly injurious to natural happiness and prosperity. This is amply borne out by the uniform testimony of history. A great violation of public rights is always followed by the degradation and misery of the people. All the better principles of men's nature become weakened and depraved; and everything that is calculated to improve, to elevate, and to exalt human nature, is thrown into the shade. The benevolent and kindly affections become weakened, both in individuals and bodies of men, and nothing but the most cold and heartless selfishness is witnessed in every movement of life. Truth becomes no longer respected; private and public morality are trampled under foot; and social and domestic happiness are destroyed. All nature groans under the pestiferous influence of oppression. No matter how great the natural advantages of a people; no matter how fertile the soil, genial the climate, and varied the productions; no matter how extended the territory, capacious the harbours, and commanding the frontiers; no matter how naturally excellent the mental capacity, the susceptibility of improvement, and the sterling courage and intrepidity of the community; if political tyranny sits like an incubus on the nation, that community will present, under every aspect, a most humiliating and degraded appearance, and must always be an object of pity and scorn. "Degenerated beyond recal, and polluted beyond hope, a people under this

influence sinks into remediless ruin; and only continues to exist until mercy is wearied out by their profligacy, and reluctantly gives the sign for vengeance to sweep them away."

The whole class of public virtues, such as public spirit, heroic zeal, love of liberty, and the like, must be a dead letter if men have not the power of *open resistance* to profligate governments. Those virtues can have no scope for their exercise amongst a clan of savages, or a band of slaves under the whip of a master.

The people are the fountain of all political authority and power; therefore, this must imply a right in the general body to call public servants to account for the trust reposed in them; to resist usurpations and extirpate oppression; to suspend, alter, or abrogate any particular laws, and punish the unfaithful and corrupt administrators of them. This is not only the duty of public bodies of men; but every individual member of the community, according to his station, influence, and power, ought to lend his willing and zealous support to this grand design.

The usual argument urged against the doctrine of a *right of resistance* is, that it tends to make a people restless, disaffected, and rebellious. Now, this is grounded on a great fallacy. In the first place, nothing but disaffection and rebellion can possibly follow from unqualified despotism; therefore, the people are not placed in a *worse* condition by any supposed change. In the second place, it is a well known fact, grounded on the most extensive experience, that mankind, in the mass, are never inclined for physical opposition to any form of government, without there

be great and deep-rooted corruptions in it. Scarcely any single attack upon their liberties, however pointed, will rouse them into active resistance. It is only when they see a long train of abuses, and feel the heavy pressure of one act of tyranny after another, that they become alive to a sense of their danger, and see the necessity of placing the legislative power in such hands as will effectually secure them the benefits of good and just government. In the third point of view, it may be affirmed, that the right of resistance is the only security against *open rebellion and anarchy*. All tyranny and oppression are really and properly acts of *open rebellion*; because their natural tendency is to divert the legislative power of a country from the object it was founded to accomplish; *that of promoting the public good*. When legislators violate public principles of liberty, they are guilty of *open rebellion*; for the people at large can have no security for life or property, without the protection which these principles afford them. Such law-makers take away a power which none but the people can rightly exercise; and such law-makers set up their own authority in opposition to that of the people's, for whose intended benefit they were especially and solely appointed. Thus we see that the charge of rebellion may always be justly laid to the charge of those who, under the cloak of legislation, sap the foundations of public liberty, and expose the people to all the miseries of misrule and despotism.

It may be mentioned here, in conclusion, that amongst all the writers who have adopted and defended the doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, there is not one who goes the whole length

of his own principles. Every one stops short somewhere; and seems shocked at the obvious conclusions which follow from his own principles. This circumstance is, in itself, a most conclusive argument for the unsoundness and outrageous nature of such doctrines; and that they are never adopted but for the purpose of giving a plausible colouring to what cannot in justice and reason be defended.

We come now to the most important point in this question of the Right to Resistance, namely, *what circumstances, or what acts of tyranny and oppression can justify open resistance?*

It must be obvious to every reader possessed of common sense and reflection, that a direct and pointed answer cannot, from the nature of things, be given to the question. It is like all matters appertaining to human life and human character, not susceptible of an invariable and positive answer, but must depend on various circumstances, events, and consequences, which require to be well known and duly weighed in the minds of men. The question of resistance to corrupt and unjust governments is precisely of the same nature as the resistance to private injury or wrong. Were we asked what was the exact portion of insult or injustice we should bear towards ourselves personally before we should be justified in taking any measures for open resistance; we should be as much puzzled in laying down an infallible rule in this case as when called on to point out the exact limits of a nation's forbearance towards its oppressors or tyrants. It must always be with a nation as with individuals; the question must be settled by the *feelings* and *judgments* of the parties interested, and the circumstances in

which both may be placed. There never can be any subject for guiding us to right conclusions on this *universal* or *infallible rule*; but there may be *general rules*, and some of these we shall now briefly notice.

First, we maintain that a people are fully justified in resisting their rulers, when these rulers no longer attend to the grand object of civil government, *that of promoting the happiness of the great mass of the nation*. Here the obvious principles of natural justice must guide our decisions and conduct. If the people, who constitute the community, have chosen men to fill important offices of trust for the benefit of the whole; if the people possess that physical force which alone can give these public officers power to influence their laws and regulations; if the people, instead of being protected, see themselves degraded, plundered, oppressed, and maltreated, and every principle of civil right violated with impunity; then, in this case, we say, that the people are morally and religiously bound to concentrate their efforts, to make common cause against the odious tyranny, and to endeavour, by their united knowledge and labours, to erect a better social fabric than the one they have. The course which it is incumbent and reasonable for a nation to follow towards its rulers is precisely the same which all men of sane minds follow in the ordinary concerns of human life. When servants either *cannot* or *will not* do the work for which they were engaged, we remove them and make other arrangements; but we never, for a single moment, conceive we are acting violently or unjustly in such a case. Just so is it with *public servants*. No matter how distinguished by birth, or knowledge, or civil dignities, if they give evident indications that

the *public weal* forms no object of their esteem or attachment, then the people are bound to take their affairs into their own hands. These circumstances are just such as were contemplated by Judge Blackstone, when he said, they formed the just reasons for "those extraordinary recourses to first principles which are necessary when the contracts of society are in danger of dissolution, and the law proves too weak a defence against the violence of fraud or oppression. *Resistance is justifiable* to the person of the prince when the being of the state is endangered, and the public voice proclaims such resistance necessary. Indeed, it is found by experience, that whenever the unconstitutional oppressions, even of the sovereign power, advance with gigantic strides and threaten dissolution to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity; nor will they sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to those political maxims which were originally established to preserve it."

Secondly, *public expediency* demands we should resist oppression. This forms a matter for judgment and calculation. The advantages and disadvantages of resistance must be carefully balanced and estimated, in order that the great object be attained—the *public good*. It must appear obvious to all, that mere trifling matters of wrong cannot justify open resistance. The bad effects of tyranny must be clear and numerous. Mr. Locke observes, "Whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the *property of the people*, or to reduce them to slavery under *arbitrary power*, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are therefore *absolved from any further obedience*, and are left to the common refuge which

God hath provided for all men against force and violence."

Another condition to justify resistance is, *that we see no other method of relief from oppression*. This, too, must be a matter for grave consideration; and many circumstances must be duly weighed before a sound conclusion can be come to. History, however, clearly teaches that it has very seldom happened that political tyranny has ever been overthrown by gentle and persuasive means. It is the nature of civil corruptions to perpetuate themselves. "To abandon," says Dr. Robertson, "usurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are sacrifices which the virtue of *individuals* has, on some occasions, offered to truth; but from any *society* of men no such effect can be expected. The corruptions of a society, recommended by common utility, and justified by universal practice, are viewed by its members without shame or horror; and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them."

The last rule to justify resistance we shall allude to is, *that there ought always to be a rational prospect of success*. This is indispensably necessary. We may plead that we have justice, and expediency, and humanity on our side; but still we must make accurate calculations as to the chances of success. It is the bounded duty of all true patriots not to throw away heroism and valour upon rash or ill-concerted plans of resistance. But, at the same time, we know that it is perfectly agreeable to the ordinary course of nature, that many *apparently* fruitless attempts at resistance must take place in every country struggling for its freedom, before that freedom can be finally achieved.

As it is an inalienable right, from the very constitution of things, that a nation should have the power to form a constitution, and to appoint suitable persons to carry its provisions into operation ; so it is equally a right, upon the same grounds, that the community at large should possess the power to revise and amend their system of civil polity whenever they think proper to do so. If human plans of government were originally perfect, and man himself invested with absolute rectitude, this right would not need be insisted on ; but as everything human is more or less imperfect, the obligation to strive for the greatest possible good becomes imperative upon all men in a state of society. Some writers plainly tell us that when a political compact is once formed, entered into, and brought into operation, it ought not to be altered or disturbed in any way whatever. Such an opinion is the most absurd imaginable. It lays the axe to the root of all rational government. If you have not an inherent right to change or amend a government, of whatever description it may be, it is only, in other words, to maintain the doctrine of Divine right or usurpation. There is here no middle or qualified course to steer. The *principle* of the right of interference must be taken in all its fulness or rejected at once. It has been justly remarked by a political writer of considerable distinction, that “men are destined to improve on their lot, and on their first inventions, and no more acquiesce in the first defective forms of society than they do in the first practice of any mechanical art. We state the condition of rude society as the material on which the genius of man is to work, not as a finished production with which he is for ever to remain contented.”

Such vital questions as we have just glanced at, were the burden of a great part of the political literature, published from the commencement of the Reformation till the settlement of the House of Hanover on the British throne. These questions were severally handled and discussed by men of the greatest talent and genius; and their writings, on the whole, have certainly proved highly instrumental in the promotion of enlightened and liberal opinions on governments generally; though many of them had to bear the charge of sedition brought against them, and even of blasphemy itself.

When the revival of letters in Europe took place, and the Greek and Roman writers became the constant companions of the learned, a new element was thrown into political speculation; and a more elevated standard of political right and wrong was erected for the guidance of public opinion. A wider range of history was exhibited before men's minds, and they discovered from its pages, that injustice and cruelty, and freedom and happiness, were not merely ideal things; but responded to by the deeply-rooted feelings of mankind, in all ages of the world. The ancient writings abounded with numerous examples, where arbitrary power was crushed, and popular institutions founded on its ruins; and these examples were set forth with all the glowing ornaments and impassioned feelings of true poetry and eloquence. When, therefore, the classical works of antiquity became the daily manuals in the hands of every professor of a college, and the elementary food of his numerous and ardent pupils, it is easy to perceive that all political questions of a purely abstract nature, would be viewed through a novel and interesting medium.

Cosmo de Medici came into power in Florence about the year 1420. He was an ardent admirer of Grecian literature, and was highly instrumental in obtaining complete copies of the works of Aristotle and Plato, two of the chief political speculators, whose writings have survived the ravages of bygone ages. Cosmo sent parties to Constantinople in search of Greek manuscripts. In 1423, all the works of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Xenophon, and others, were obtained, and great was the joy and excitement throughout all the seminaries of learning in Europe, at this happy event. Italy took the lead in discussing the merits of the Grecian sages. Gemistus Pletho, Marsilius Ficino, Cardinal Bassarion and others arraigned themselves on the side of Plato, and his philosophy generally; while Theodore Gaza and George Trebisond stood boldly forward in defence of the doctrines and opinions of Aristotle. A fierce intellectual conflict was the consequence. And though no small portion of the violent controversies of the times hinged more upon the direct and general bearings of mental philosophy and its kindred studies, yet the principles of politics, taken in their widest range, were occasionally discussed and developed, with a minuteness and acumen never before witnessed in the seats of European learning and science. The ancient systems of polity were examined and commented upon from various and opposite points of view; and opinions in favour of the great importance of this branch of knowledge to the permanent interests of mankind, were gradually, year by year, extending themselves throughout the great body of thinking men of the age, whether lay or clerical. The just notions entertained by Lorenzo de Medici, grandson of Cosmo, on the abstract and funda-

mental principles of legislation and government, were likewise eminently influential in not only extending the liberties of the republic of Florence, but in influencing the general current of European thought on the subject. Lorenzo was a passionate admirer of Plato's republic, and his views of the nature and offices of law, in its philosophical bearings. This is obvious from his celebrated "*Altercazione*," a poem explanatory of the leading doctrines of Platonic speculation.

We can scarcely expect to find that the majority of those philosophers and scholars of Italy, who figured at the revival of letters, and were enraptured with Grecian studies, should present us with bright examples of liberal opinions carried out into practical life. Theory and practice are often at variance, and we have frequently the great mortification to witness the surprising discrepancies between a man's abstract principles and his every-day conduct. Here and there we find among the ardent spirits of Italy, bold doctrines propounded, and novel schemes of policy entertained; but there always seemed a sufficient power at hand to check their growth and extension among the community at large. Lorenzo de Medici, himself, indulged in the most extravagant exultation when his son, only seven years of age, was made a cardinal; and Bembo and Sadoleti subscribed with their own hand the most despotic and unprincipled edicts from the court of Rome, aiming at the entire extinction of liberal and enlightened sentiments of public freedom among mankind.

Thus we see that old institutions and antiquated ideas fell rapidly in this era of keen political inquiry

into neglect and disuetude. For many centuries there were certain clear, distinct, and definite conceptions of the nature and offices of all governments; but these became, one by one, matters of doubt; they were analysed and examined on every side, and were ultimately repudiated and proscribed as inimical to human reason and the interests of society. This ushered in a strange period—strange both as to politics and social life. The strongholds of power were attacked by skilful writers and profound thinkers at various points; and those political alliances and hereditary organisations, which had governed men for many centuries, were riven asunder, and an epoch, marked by transition, bold speculation, and revolution, ensued. New creeds of polity were framed, full of the elements of change. These creeds became the centres of political life, and the fundamental axioms of dynastic rights, and new charters of liberty and independence. The novel elements of speculation penetrated into every corner of the social fabric; and new combinations of ideas, and corresponding innovations of language, were required by politicians to express and represent the changes. A political fraternity entered into the arena of legislation. Convictions of the soundness of some spiritual idea, some first principle, some definite creed, were indispensable for calling into activity the public mind and spirit of a nation. This ardour for inquiry was all dominant. It triumphed over every obstacle. It manifested its power by small beginnings; but it soon took hold of the public mind of Europe, and fertilised, more or less, every part of it. Like some noble river, clear and pellucid at its source, that winds its devious course through various tracks—now pausing

on its pebbly bed, now shooting arrow-like along—now widening and swelling into deep lake-like pools—now bearing down everything before it—till at last it pours its full volume of waters into the great ocean itself. Thus it was that writers on politics were gradually led to take a bolder position on the platform of public opinion, and to advocate systems of government, more simple and efficient in their principles, than the older elements of the Roman and middle age civilisation presented.

Hence it is, that this era we have now entered upon is that in which political party-writing took its rise, and became more distinctly and minutely shadowed forth. Parties there have always been in every age and state, and ever must be, from the constitution of human nature; but in modern times they have assumed a different aspect from what they did when sheer brute force and mental depression were their chief causes and supports. As ideas of government became more generally and better understood, and their various influences on the several grades of society were more accurately and systematically traced, public opinion became divided, and partial and limited views of state polity, and the principles which regulate social intercourse, were adopted by writers and thinkers in every country in Europe. There was more national and local individuality given to their speculations. Political discussions flowed into particular channels. This gave rise to great parties in every state; the aggregate of those national ideas and volitions which have given decided tendencies towards certain fixed principles of action, and particular modes of government. Writers were guided by certain class

ideas—often but obscurely defined, and unsteadily adhered to—and these served as rallying points of argument, and party distinctions. All agitation, all movement, ranged itself under some common notion, or abstract conception; and though the sphere of political knowledge was, by this means, vastly extended, it also, in some degree, lost its concentrated unity and power.

Party writers and philosophers on politics, may be arranged, setting aside their less prominent characteristics, under two great divisions; the one under the influence of progressive change and improvement, and the other of a stationary or conservative cast. These two orders of writers and thinkers can be traced in the political literature of every country, though not existing under any specific or assumed form. Their antagonistic ideas can be distinctly recognised. Though their reasonings and aims are varied by the outward circumstances under which both classes lived, nevertheless the respective distinctions by which each class is known, are essentially the same. The progressive order or school adopts and acts upon the maxim, that there is a principle of development in human society, and in the intellectual constitution of man; and that the machine of government can be so adjusted as to derive great additional power and facility in its movements, by adapting itself to this innate tendency of human nature towards improvement. It would regulate itself to a people's advancement in knowledge, and the ever-changing habits of social life. This coalition is, in fact, indispensable to the real advancement of nations. It is the germinating power—the parent of great ideas and liberal sentiments. The

retarding or conservative policy though it does not absolutely deny the existence of this aptitude to civil improvement, nevertheless treats it as a matter not to be taken into account, when discussing the vital interests of society. It generally sets itself, therefore, against innovations, both speculative and practical. Whatever is, is here right. To alter, to improve, to change, is not its character. Yet the leading idea on which the conservative class of political writers act, is a great idea, and is of vital importance to all societies; inasmuch, as it imparts to the judgments and habits of a nation, permanency, fixity of purpose, and a sustaining and enduring power.

These two opposing powers, under which the general run of political writers may be classified, must necessarily exist at all times, under whatever form accidental circumstances may impart to them. Sometimes the one predominates for a series of years, and sometimes the other; and the degree of vitality which each may exhibit for the time being, marks the particular cast of political opinions and sentiments which then prevailed in any country. When the leading idea, either of a conservative or progressive cast, gets worn out, some slight national shock or movement will throw them into the shade; and then something else, having the *prestige* of novelty, will seize hold of the public mind, and engross it for, probably, an equal length of time, with more or less intensity. But an essential difference soon begins to distinguish itself in the two antagonistic principles. The progressive outlives the other. All history is confirmatory of this fact. The conservative may retard, but cannot permanently arrest the march of improvement and change.

There is but one mode of standing still, but many in moving forward. All political writers who have been in advance of their age, have been the most distinguished and popular; and have their names emblazoned with a more vivid halo of glory than those of their rivals. Conservative writers, though often a most valuable and seasonable check upon the too rapid desire for innovation, have but one idea. It is a unity of itself. Progression, on the other hand, involves a great diversity of ideas. It is a congeries of plans, rather than a single design; including as many aspects as their are phases in the human intellect.

This period of the history of political writings was not only that in which party-spirit was more distinctly formed and developed; but that in which political science itself, as a totality, became split up into various sections or divisions, which were often individually prosecuted with great ardour and success, and each laid claim to an independent status and character in the *role* of philosophical inquiry. The principle of the mechanical distribution of labour was here exemplified, and its application was made subservient to the extension of particular departments of political speculation. This was, in many respects, a great advantage; for, by enabling individual minds to cultivate their respective lines of investigation with undivided attention, the writings of politicians became more diversified and interesting. But this turn given to abstract inquiry was not without its inconveniencies and drawbacks. As these separate topics of investigation were hewn out of the entire body of the science, it too often happened that their individual interest overtopped the interest which politicians

should have felt in the whole science; and, consequently, this one-sided view often led to erroneous and partial estimations of the great end of all political knowledge and science. The isolated and the individual were identified with the comprehensive and the general. The more that polity became divided into sections of independent inquiry, and were taken up by different classes of writers, the more the public attention was bewildered, and driven aside from abstract principles and general results. This increase of matters of detail became too unwieldy for the writers of political science generally to manage. Modern legislation, in every country of Europe, and particularly in our own, can furnish innumerable examples of the pernicious effects arising from this want of union between the abstract and the particular—the scientific and the practical.

The art of Printing came into general use, between the years 1460, and 1500, in most of the countries of Europe. The art took its rise in Germany; and the first book printed from moveable wooden types made its appearance about the year 1450. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the manifold advantages that have accrued to political literature and science, from this important invention. They are patent to every reflecting mind, and acknowledged by every nation. They have secured the world from any retrograde movement, either in reference to political information or general knowledge; and are, year by year, more fully developing themselves for the best interests of mankind.

In addition to the three principal causes of political progression, the Reformation, the Revival of Letters, and the Art of Printing, there was a fourth of nearly equal

efficiency, namely, the extension of geographical knowledge. The discovery of America, and the trading expeditions to India, opened up a wide field for the enterprise of the more bold and resolute spirits of the old societies of Europe. Boundless regions, rich with all the elements of wealth, were subjected to new modes of government, and new rules and maxims of civil law and jurisprudence. After the discovery of these great parts of the globe, the spiritual idea, if we may so call it, embodied in all true political philosophy, became overlaid by the material interests and opinions of governments. This idea was forcibly made to play a subordinate part in the great business of life. Now began to flow the vast tide of physical knowledge, interests, and pursuits, which sometimes submerged, and always augmented the difficulties of social problems. Still these material agents produced in the long run substantial benefits, by furnishing many additional requisites to man's comfort and progress. The peopling of extensive territories with a moral and intellectual race of men, impelled an increase of mechanical skill and appliances, which directly placed the industrious man in a state of comparative independence and freedom.

The section of time we are now upon the point of examining, is likewise characterised by the great influence which historical writing exercised over political speculations and discussions. This was a new element thrown into society. History here puts forth its claim to teach the politician from the past to the future; both as to purely abstract principles, and practical statemanship. The philosophical spirit which historians imbibed, opened up fresh views of social

relations, and vastly extended the mental horizon of public men and legislators. Historical details became more closely allied to important topics of reflection; and the methods of studying national annals were both multiplied and perfected towards the more general extension of sound knowledge.

History, being thus made subservient to the science of government, widened the field of observation, and became a wholesome corrective to political information. It unfolded the active and stirring principles of congregated numbers. Here a social confederacy was scanned and criticised; and its wants, its passions, and its aspirations, became the topics of earnest and steady contemplation. The eyes of thinking men were drawn from the consideration of the remote principles of the individual and inward man, to those of the multitude; how they act in war, in trade, in civil commotions and contests; and under the influence of progressive power, riches, and distinction. The materials for reflection are here so numerous, that a boundless range is allowed for remark and observation. Knowledge is carried forward from one nation to another: and the philosopher's information respecting the past transactions of states and communities, is gradually systematised and tested for the benefit of succeeding reasoners and public writers. History, politically considered, developes the orderly affairs of national progression, and seeks for the causes of phenomena from the wants, ideas, passions, and general intelligence of a people. It draws the minds of men from incidental and minor matters; and shows that the permanent and valuable institutions of every country, may be attributed to the constant and regular influence of general laws, and

not to causes of a purely accidental or personal character. It takes the political reasoner by the hand, and shows him the mixed nature of human principles and actions;—the good and the evil;—the salutary and the pernicious;—and tells him to sift and inquire for himself, among the complicated mass around him; and likewise deeply impresses on his mind, that it is only by the most careful and patient induction, that he can arrive at valuable and lasting truths. He will be taught to classify and arrange;—to separate the general and universal, from the casual and incidental; and to give that scientific precision to his thoughts, in which all true wisdom chiefly consists.

The advantages which history confers upon political science, by the modern mode of treating of facts and events, are not, however, without their drawback. History, to be really usefully applied, must be free from the hasty and injudicious applications of authority and precedent. The mind is perpetually liable to be influenced by false or imperfect analogies. We see this displayed in every stage of political writing and discussion. Some individual and striking circumstance is laid hold of to explain and determine the nature of every movement in society, without taking into consideration that there are scarcely ever two cases alike; certainly, never two phases of human institutions that are not associated with material differences in their characters and formation. Historical facts are all susceptible of various interpretations, and they influence the line of general argument at numerous divergent and angular points. They are ever liable to be interpreted not upon their own intrinsic merits, but in accordance with some preconceived, or partially deve-

loped, theory of general polity. To make historical details really valuable for the ground-work of political maxims, we must look beyond the particular; beyond heroes, and legislators, and monarchs, and conquerors, all of whom often stand out in bold relief in the pages of the historian; and, by patient study, direct the mind's eye to those general and disconnected events which distant times may have thrown around all such prominent actors on the world's theatre. In every stage of political literature we shall see innumerable instances of errors arising from the want of attending to such precautions.

To chronicle, for the use of succeeding ages, the progress, and the great movements of social existence, as exemplified by the political writings of civilised nations, requires, therefore, great care, and scrupulous accuracy in giving every series of facts that just proportion of interest which they legitimately demand. The historian's mind should be as free as possible from prejudice, party feeling, critical rancour, and whimsical crotchets. He ought neither to warp or resist evidence, to bolster up any personal fancy or unworthy purpose. He should keep a watchful eye upon all the conclusions of his own judgment; and to take especial care that he gives to all who have essentially assisted to rear the great fabric of political science in every age and country, that due portion of attention and commendation to which they are fairly and justly entitled.

Before closing these preliminary observations, we shall offer a word or two by way of summary, relative to the general external condition of the world, at the moment of history from whence we now take our departure. The early and middle ages were now thrown

into the background, and an entirely changed aspect of public affairs was to be ushered in. America was undiscovered; the hidden treasures of Mexico and Peru undreamed of. The Moors still retained possession of the most valuable portion of Spain. The Hanseatic League was in the fulness of its strength, but showed incipient signs of decline. The Russian empire was then, like the great Sahara of Africa now, a land unknown and untrodden by civilised man. The Prussian States, as now constituted, were only looming in the distance. Poland was strong and powerful; and Hungary the outward bulwark of Christendom. Constantinople, though tottering at its base, was still in the hands of the Greeks. Henry V. was king of England, and a part of France belonged to his crown. The bloody struggles and contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster had not commenced. The old Norman nobility were still powerful vassals of the king, and displayed all their feudal power and grandeur. The commercial and manufacturing cities of Holland and Belgium were in full vigour; enjoying, to the utmost extent, their somewhat rude and general freedom; and the republics of Italy monopolised all the trade of India and the East. At the head of these was Venice—the Queen and City of Waters—with her unbounded commerce and wealth, and her mysterious government; a city, which our great bard of Avon thus describes:—

“ Your mind is tossing on the ocean;
There, where your argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors, and rich burghers of the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
Do over-peer the petty traffickers
That curt'sy to them, do them reverence,
As they fly by them with their woven wings.”

Such was the general aspect of the world at the commencement of the series of sketches we are now about to offer on the writings of the great expounders of European politics; writings which contain principles never to be effaced from the minds of mankind to the end of time.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL LITERATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM 1400
TILL THE YEAR 1700.

SECTION I.

*From Henry V. to the termination of the reign of
Elizabeth.*

FROM the commencement of the fifteenth to the termination of the seventeenth century, the political literature of Great Britain is particularly interesting; interesting on account of its intrinsic merits as a development of the entire science of politics; and interesting on account of the fearful struggles it had to make, and the personal sacrifices it demanded from its expounders. When we cast a retrospective glance over this portion of our national history, and contrast it with subsequent periods of it, it presents a stern and gloomy aspect. Every general principle was contested in the midst of blood and suffering; men having often to contend against error and oppression, with the pen in one hand and the sword in the other. Every step of this literary progress calls forth the most thrilling emotions; and pointedly shows what a deep and absorbing interest the love of truth can

exercise over the noblest and most highly gifted intellects. Such a fact conveys an impressive lesson to all succeeding ages.

From the reign of Henry IV. to Henry VIII., commencing in 1399 and extending to 1509, there were no political works of a scientific class produced in England worthy of much notice. In the chief seats of education, general polity was sometimes dwelt upon; but what was here publicly taught, or published in written class-books, was chiefly borrowed from the stores of the scholastic writers of preceding times; and consisted of illustrations of a few maxims of civil law, remarks on the ancient systems of government in Greece and Rome, and some incidental notice of the politics of the Saxon and Norman dynasties.

A popular political feeling began, however, to manifest itself in England soon after the commencement of the fifteenth century. English books began to be written, particularly against the Roman hierarchy. There was one publication, called "The Lantern of Light," (1415) which excited much attention. It represented the pope as antichrist, and maintained the papal decrees were of no authority or force. It represented the archbishops and bishops as the seats of the great beast in the Revelations, who sat and governed despotically. The Roman courts were his head, the mass of the clergy his body, and the friars, monks, and canons, his tail. The work enforces the great truth, that the christian laity were maltreated and persecuted from two principal sources—the excess of temporal power in the hands of the church, and the system of begging among the friars. This work, it is said, was found in the house of a feltmonger, plainly

written in English, and neatly bound in red leather. The person who had it could not read, but had it read to him; and so wedded was he to the truths it contained, that he suffered a confinement in Conway Castle for two years, and in the Fleet prison other three years, rather than abandon his creed. Wickliff's tracts, belonging to Sir John Oldcastle, were seized in 1413, in Paternoster Row, and taken to Henry V., at Kensington Palace, who, after reading a few pages of them, expressed his horror at the doctrines they contained. There was another work of much the same character, found at Coventry; and, indeed, works of this description became so common, that the public authorities, when persons were arrested, invariably asked them, "whether they ever had in their houses or custody any books *written in English*?"

There were several learned men opposed the reform doctrines, promulgated by Wickliffe and his followers. The chief of these were Thomas Ashburn, Bankins, an eloquent Dominican friar, Richard Maydesley, and William Woodford. And, in addition to these individual efforts to repress a political change of opinion, the University of Oxford, appointed twelve magisters to examine the works of Wickliffe; and in 1412, decided that there were two hundred and sixty-seven erroneous and heretical conclusions in them, all of which were "*guilty of fire*."

Thomas Netter, of Waldon, was the most able and systematic writer on the ecclesiastical and civil claims of the papacy. His work is called "*Doctrinale*," &c., in three volumes folio; and has often been reprinted since, at Paris, Salamanca, and Venice.

Political authorship, was at this period, a perilous

occupation. In 1418, it was enacted that all judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and all who had any share in the administration of the laws, should search after, and labour diligently in apprehending, all persons convicted of heresies, and particularly of having in their possession, *books written in English*. These offences were not unfrequently punished by death*. In addition to law, ridicule was employed to repress the spirit of reformation; and the metrical verses against the Lollards show how earnestly and zealously the government of the day, entered into repressive schemes for the suppression of public opinion. In one of these ballads we have the following sentiments:—

“For Holy writ beith witness,
He that false is to his king,
That shameful death and hard distress
Shall be his doom at his ending.
Then *double death* for such *lollyng*
Is heavy when we shall heav’n eye,
Now, Lord, that madest of nought all things,
Defend us from all lollardie†.”

SIR JOHN FORTESQUE.—The works of Sir John Fortesque are well entitled to the particular attention of the politician. The author was a principal councillor in the court of Henry IV.; and for his devotion to that monarch he was attainted by the parliament under Edward IV. In the year 1463 he fled to Flanders, where he wrote his famous book, “*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.” The work is in the form of letters to a prince. His object is to show the prince the great superiority of the English laws over those of other

* See Wilkin’s *Concilia*, vol. 3.

† Cotton Library, b. 16.

countries; and he furnishes a test of this, by pointing out the superior manner in which the common people lived in England, compared with persons in a similar situation in France.

Sir John was the author of another work of a more abstract nature; namely, "The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy." He enters very fully into the nature of absolute power; showing its withering and blighting influence on social happiness; and endeavours to prove that true and rational freedom can be obtained from a limited and constitutional monarchy, with more certainty and steadiness, than from any other mode or form of government. In the third chapter, will be found a very lengthened description between the French and English mode of living, a part of which we have mentioned in a previous volume of this work.

When, however, the reign of Henry VIII. had advanced a few years, the doctrines of the Protestant reformation in Germany, made their way to Britain, and the king, for various reasons which the histories of the times detail, opposed the tenets of Luther with might and main. The monarch actually wrote and published a book in opposition to the new reformed notions, which obtained for him the title from the Pope, "*Defender of the Faith*." But personal circumstances soon made the zealous king one of the most redoubtable enemies of the Church of Rome. Of the various incidents, and the important public consequences which resulted from this quarrel between Henry and the Papal See, we shall take no further notice, as they lie beyond the sphere of strict politics, and properly belong to the department of regular history.

Thus it was that, up to the reign of Henry VIII., the science of politics, with the exception of Lord Fortesque's work, formed but a very insignificant portion of English literature. Not but that there were many valuable principles of polity, many theoretical notions of general government, and many profound observations on what constitute the true strength and happiness of nations, scattered up and down among the mass of our legal and speculative knowledge; but as yet no method nor order was imparted to these political elements. The nature and tendency of all the social and governmental institutions of our country, as well as the general bent of men's minds, were decidedly against the discussion and elaborate investigation of abstract principles of politics. Everything was local, temporary, national and divided. Men were not yet accustomed to throw their eyes beyond the limited horizon of their own individual sphere, or wander beyond what most immediately concerned their own comfort, security, and interest.

It is requisite to observe here, that the public press gained little strength for many years after its first introduction into England. The government of the day viewed it with great jealousy and distrust. Henry VIII. kept it in check, and limited its exercise to the production of bibles, prayer-books, and controversial tracts against the Catholic faith. In the following reign of Queen Mary, the printing of books was confined to a privileged company, regulated by stringent rules, and placed under the direct authority and control of the Star Chamber.

As an illustration of the spirit of the times, relative to the value of book-learning, and general information

on public matters, we shall insert a proclamation from Harry, on the subject. It is both amusing and instructive.

A PROCLAMATION.

... nse Junii Anno regni metuendissimi Domini
nostri Regis Henrici Octavi xxij.

A PROCLAMATION, made and divysed by the Kyngis Highnes, with the advise of His Honorable Counsaile, for dampning of erronious bokes and heresies, and prohibitinge the havinge of Holy Scripture translated into the vulgar tongues of englishe, frenche, or duche, in suche maner as within this proclamation is expressed.

The Kinge, oure most dradde soveraigne lorde, studienge and providynge dayly for the weale, benefite, and honour of this his most [n]oble realme, well and evidently perceiveth, that partly through the malicious suggestion of our gostly enemy, partly by the yvell and perverse inclination and sedicious disposition of sundry persons, divers heresies and erronio[us] [o]pinions have ben late sowen and spredde amonge his subjectes of this his said realme, by blasphemous and pestiferous englishe bokes, printed in other regions and sent into this realme, to the entent as well to perverte and withdrawe the people from the catholike and true fayth of Christe, as also to stirre and incense them to sedition and disobedience agaynst their princes, soveraignes, and heedes, as also to cause them to contempne and neglect all good lawes, customes, and vertuous maners, to the final subversion and desolation of this noble realme, if they myght have prevayled (which God forbyd) in theyr most cursed [p]ersuasions

and malicious purposes, where upon the kynges highnes (*sic*), by his incomparable wysedome, forseinge and most prudently considerynge, hath invited and called to hym the primates of this his gravis realme, and also a sufficient nombre of discrete, vertuous, and well-lerned personages in divinite, as well of either of the universities, Oxforde and Cambrige, as also hath chosen and taken out of other parties of his realme; gyvinge unto them libertie to speke and declare playnly their advises, judgmentes, and determinations, concernyng as well the approbation or rejectyng of suche boke as be in parte suspected, as also the admission and divulgate of Olde and Newe Testament translated into englishe. Wher upon his highnes, in his owne royall person, callyng to hym the said primates and divines, hath seriously and depely, with great leisure and longe deliberation, consulted, debated, inserched, and discussed the premisses: and finally, by all their free assentes, consentes, and agrementes, concluded, resolved, and determyned, that these boke ensuyng, that is to say, the boke entituled the wicked Mammona, the boke named the Obedience of a Christen Man, the Supplication of Beggars, and the boke called the Revelation of Antichrist, the Summary of Scripture, and divers other boke made in the englishe tonge, and imprinted beyond y^e see, do conteyne in them pestiferous errours and blasphemies; and for that cause, shall hensforth be reputed and taken of all men, for boke of heresie, and worthy to be dampned and put in perpetuall oblivion. The kingis said highnes therefore straitly chargeth and commandeth, all and every his subjectes, of what astate or condition so ever he or they be, as they wyll avoyde his high indigna-

And his highnes desireth to knowe, that they from henceforth do not buy, receive, or have, any of the booke before named in any other booke, beinge in the englishe tongue, and printed beyonde the see, of what matter so ever it be, or any copie written, drawn out of the same, or the same booke in the frenche or duche tongue. And to the intent that his highnes wylbe assured what nombre of the said erroneous booke shal be founde from tyme to tyme within this his realme, his highnes therefore chargeth and commaundeth that all and every person or persones, whiche hath or hereafter shall have, any booke or booke in the englishe tongue, printed beyond the see, as is afore written, or any of the sayde erroneous booke in the frenche or duche tongue: that he or they, within fyf-tene dayes nexte after the publisshynge of this present proclamation, do actually delyver or sende the same booke and every of them to the bisshop of the diocese, wherein he or they dwelleth, or to his commissary, or els before good testimonie, to theyr curate or parisshe preest, to be presented by the same curate or parisshe preest to the sayd bisshop or his commissary. And so doyng, his highnes frely pardoneth and acquiteth them, and every of them, of all penalties, forfaitures, and paynes, wherein they have incurred or fallen, by reason of any statute, acte, ordinaunce, or proclamation before this tyme made, concernynge any offence or transgression by them commytted or done, by or for the keypyng or holdynge of the sayde booke.

Forseen and provided alwayes, that they from henceforth truly do observe, kepe, and obey this his present gracieus proclamation and commaundement. Also his highnes commaundeth all mayres, sheriffes, bail-

liffes, constables, bursholders, and other officers and ministers within this his realme, that if they shall happen by any meanes or wayes to knowe that any person or persons do hereafter bye, receyve, have or deteyne any of the sayde erroneous bokes, printed or written anywhere, or any other bokes in englisshe tonge printed beyonde the see, or the saide erroneous bokes printed or written in the french or duche tonge, contrarie to this present proclamation, that they beinge therof well assured, do immediatly attache the saide person or persons, and brynge hym or them to the kynges highnes and his most honorable counsaile; where they shalbe corrected and punished for theyre contempte and disobedience, to the terrible example of other lyke transgressours.

Moreover his highnes commaundeth, that no maner of person or persons take upon hym or them to printe any boke or bokes in englisshe tonge, concernynge holy scripture, not before this tyme printed within this his realme, untill suche tyme as the same boke or bokes be examyned and approved by the ordinary of the diocese where the said bokes shalbe printed: And that the printer therof, upon every of the sayde boke beinge so examyned, do sette the name of the examynour or examynours, with also his owne name, upon the saide bokes, as he will answer to the kynges highnes at his uttermoste peryll.

And farthermore, for as moche as it is come to the herynge of our sayde soveraigne lorde the kyng, that reporte is made by dyvers and many of his subjectes, that it were to all men not onely expedyent, but also necessarye, to have in the englisshe tonge both the newe testament and the olde, and that his highnes,

his noble men, and prelates, were bounden to suffre them so to have it: His highnes hath therfore semblably there upon consulted with the sayde primates discrete, and well lerned personages in divinite forsayde, and by them all it is thought, that it is not necessary th to be in the englisshe tonge, and in the handes of the commen people; but that the distrib . . . the said scripture . . . denyenge therof dependeth onely upon the discretion of the superiours, as to the malignite of this present tyme, with the inclination of the people to erroni the olde in to the vulgare tonge of englysshe, shulde rather be the occasyon of people, than any benefyte or commodite to warde the weale of their soules. And e have the holy scripture expounded to them by preachers in theyr sermons, ac this tyme, All be it if it shall here after appere to the kynges highnes, that his sa rse, erroneous, and sedicious opinyons, with the newe testament and the olde, corrup ge in printe: And that the same boke and all other boke of heresy, as well . . . termynate and exiled out of this realme of Englande for ever: his highnes c great lerned and catholyke persones, translated in to the englisshe tonge, if it sha^[ll] then seme t . . . conv . . . his highnes at this tyme, by the hoole advise and full determination of all the said primates, and . . . discrete and subs . . . lerned personages of both universities, and other before expressed, and by the assent of his nobles and others of his moste hon^[orab]le Counsaile, wylleth and straytly commaundeth, that all and every person and persones, of what astate, degre, or condition so ever he or they be, whiche hath the newe testament or the olde trans-

lated in to englysshe, or any other boke of holy scripture so translated, beyng in printe, or copied out of the bokes now beinge in printe, that he or they do immediatly brynge the same boke or bokes, or cause the same to be broughte to the bysshop of the dyocese where he dwelleth, or to the handes of other the sayde persones, at the daye afore limytted, in fourme afore expressed and mencioned, as he wyll avoyde the kynges high indignation and displeasure. And that no person or persons from hensforth do bye, receyve, kepe, or have the newe testament or the olde in the englisshe tonge, or in the french or duche tonge, excepte suche persones as be appoynted by the kinges highnes and the bisshops of this his realme, for the correction or amending of the said translation, as they will answere to the kynges highnes at theyr uttermost perils, and wyll avoyde suche punisshement as they, doynge contrary to the purport of this proclamation shall suffre, to the dredefull example of all other lyke offenders.

And his highnes further commaundeth, that all suche statutes, actes and ordinances, as before this tyme have been made and enacted, as well in y^e tyme of his moste gracious reigne, as also in the tyme of his noble progenitours, concernyng heresies, and havynge and deteynyng erroneous bokes, contrary and agaynst the faythe catholyke, shall immediately be put in effectuell and due execution over and besyde this present proclamation.

And god save the kyng.

SIR THOMAS MORE.—The political work of Sir Thomas More, called "Utopia," was written in 1516,

and is among one of the first English works on the science of general polity. The opinions which have been entertained by politicians and critics, as to the precise aim and object of this celebrated publication, have been various and conflicting. The performance itself is allegorical; and therefore the reader can only form his notions of the author's real sentiments and opinions, from inference and conjecture. But to a mind that is tolerably informed on the ordinary topics of political institutions, ancient and modern, there can be little difficulty in recognising the real meaning and allusions of the learned author. His soul was filled with virtuous indignation at the outrages and profligate politics of the times in which he lived, and particularly those of his own country; and he aimed at their exposure by the only means in his power—fictitious narratives and disquisitions.

The Republic of Plato is said to have formed the ground work of most of the general statements and principles found in the "Utopia." This, to a certain extent, may be true; but the two works differ in many essential particulars. The institution of marriage, the modest relations enforced between the sexes, and the absence of civil castes, take More's work out of the same class with that of the Grecian philosopher's. Besides, the "Utopia" gives some important illustrations of the salutary influence of the christian system upon the general principles of legislation.

Utopia is represented as a healthful and beautiful island in the Atlantic ocean; whose people are peaceful, their manners and habits simple, their laws those of nature, and their religion constituted of love and charity. The citizens are all well educated, the

utmost liberty of thought and speech is allowed, their warfare is entirely defensive, and capital punishment unknown.

The basis of the government is of an elective caste. Over every thirty families there is a person called a *philarch*, and to every ten philarchs a protophilarch. The council of protophilarchs, who are the senate, are elected yearly; and the chief magistrate is elected for life by these two assemblies; but should the magistrate merit dismissal, this can be effected by a majority of the members of the two legislative bodies. Labour and property are common in Utopia; and each member of society makes his wants the precise measure of his desires. The clothing of the people is chiefly distinguished for comfort and durability; money is unknown; and intellectual exercises and pleasures the highest objects of esteem and ambition. Music lends her charms to the communal feasts of the people, and banqueting halls are perfumed with delicious odours. Manufactures and agriculture are blended together; and every man, besides taking a share in the cultivation of the soil, employs a certain portion of his time at some one or more of handicraft trades, such as linen and woollen weaving, or the trades and arts connected with architecture. Every family makes its own clothes; and the general custom is, that trades descend from father to son, but this rule is not pointedly insisted on. No member of the society labours more than six hours a day.

The fourth book of More's "Dialogue Touching the Pestilent Sect of Luther and Tindal," (1530) contains his opinions on the nature of civil and religious liberty. He considers the adherents of Luther as

and the pope, as the most dangerous cause; and the pope himself, as the author of only tyranny. He then proceeds to give a summary of the common errors of the papacy, and that it blinded the people, and put them together a boisterous sect, which at length rose and first rebelled against the pope, and then against a bishop: whereupon he tells us of the good game and sport, which the protestant heretics set upon the temple of the pope, and they slew upon the point of the sword, and then he speaks of the subdued protestant heretics, and part of Almayne to a right purpose. Then he says, "St. Thomas maintains that the pope's authority was the great token that the world was in a fall." He calls them "a bestly sect," and then he says, "Heretics, and even the Mahometans, and all" that the chiefeyns of these sects, both heretics both teake and use more sensuality and carnality, than ever did Marhomet." Then, as to the "Burnynge of Heretykes," he says "The more of these outrages, and myscheeves to followe upon such sects, with the proofe that we have had in some countrees thereof, have been the cause that prynces and people have been constrained to punnysh heretykes by terrible dethe."

SAMSON, Bishop of Chichester, wrote his work against the supremacy of Rome, about 1530. The treatise was designed to support the authority of Henry VIII. against the power of the pope. Samson maintains that all history, as well as common sense, go to establish the position, that kings should take precedence over the clergy; and he then goes with the general argument, whether there be any real foundation for

the statement that the pope is the successor of St. Peter. The people are recommended to obey and honour the king, as the supreme head of the church and the nation, and to renounce their obedience to the see of Rome.

CARDINAL POLE, wrote his "Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitas Defensione" (1535) partly in answer to Samson, and partly to insult and annoy Henry. In this work the cardinal takes the opposite view of ecclesiastical power. He says: "The priest is understood, *maxime eminere*, above all things; without them the king *nihil possit*." "Many nations have lived very comfortably without kings, but no nation has lived without a priest." "I doubt whether I ought to call the clergy the ambassadors of the people to God or from him to the people; or whether I ought not even to *call them gods themselves*. No one can doubt that kings are in all things inferior to them in dignity. It is the people that create a king." "But the priest bears the person of a father as to the king, and is in all respects greater than the king."

Bishop Fox, in 1534, published his "De Vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ," which was soon after translated into French, by Lord Stafford. This is a work of considerable erudition, but not very well reasoned out.

There seems to have arisen in Scotland, in the early part of the fifteenth century, a decided turn for political discussion and innovation; at an earlier period, in fact, than what we witness in England. The reformers, north of the Tweed, were resolute and firm, and had intensely fixed their attention on several cardinal principles of liberty, which they were anxious to see the government of the day recognise and adopt. The politi-

cal writers of this portion of the island, at this period, were not characterised by any very refined analytical powers, or theoretical acumen; but what they lacked in those respects they fully made up by their dogmatic fierceness, and uncompromising independence and bitterness.

It must also always be remembered in looking at the political literature of Scotland, at this period of her history, that the innovations which were contemplated and insisted on by her writers in general, were matters appertaining more to religion, than to politics, properly so called. Civil privileges were things of a secondary importance, although they were intimately blended with the religious element, uppermost in the minds of the nation. The petition of Sir James Sandilands, presented to the queen regent, in 1558, contains perhaps, in few words, the substance of the civil and religious privileges, on which the people in general had set their hearts and affections. This petition contains five requests, 1st,—That, as by the laws of the land they had, after a long debate, obtained liberty to read the scriptures in the native language, it should be also lawful for them to use, publicly and privately, “Common prayaris in our vulgar tounge.” 2nd,—That, if in the course of reading the scriptures in their assemblies, any difficulty occurred, it should be lawful for any “qualitiet persone in knowledge” to explain it, subject to the judgment of “the maist godlie and maist learnt within the realme.” 3d,—“That the holy sacrament of baptisme may be used in the vulgar tounge,” accompanied with instruction to the parties and to the church. 4th,—“That the sacrament of the Lordis supper or of his most blessed body and blude, may likewise be administrate in the vulgar

toung, and in both kindis." And lastly, "That the wickit, slanderous, and detestabill lyif of Prelattes, and of the stait ecclesiastical, may be reformed that the pepill by theme have not occasioun, as of mony dayis they have had, to contempe their ministrie and the preiching whairoff they sould be messengers;" and to remove suspicion of interested motives in making this request, it is added, "We ar content that not only the ruellas and preceptis of the New Testament, but also the wrytings of the ancient fatheris, and the godlie approved lawis of Justiniane, decyde the controversie that is betwixt us and theme*."

JOHN MAIR's "Works," 1518. This Scottish author is better known by his latin name MAJOR. He was professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews; and we are informed that he imbibed his political sentiments from the writings of John Gerson, and P. D'Ailly. Major taught that a general council was superior to the pope's authority; and might judge, restrain, and even depose him from his chair; and he likewise denied his temporal or civil supremacy, and his privilege of inaugurating or dethroning princes. He took an enlightened and comprehensive view of politics as a science. He taught that kings and rulers were only servants of the people, derived all their authority from them, and were answerable to them for every public act they performed. If rulers and kings acted tyrannically they might be controlled by the popular voice; and the tyrants of all grades might be judicially proceeded against, and be subjected to capital punishment†.

An important and influential channel, through which

* Knox's History, pp. 120, 121.

† See his Commentary on the third book of the "Master of Sentences," and his exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, Paris, 1517.

The early reformers of Scotland perceived their system of education was that of the system of *judicial amusements*. These were not created for the purpose of conveying political sentiment to the ear of authority; they had been of long standing and constituted the staple article of public recreation. *Spiritual dramas* were throughout Europe general and fashionable, and were recommended by the *papal* power for the purpose of keeping up the interest and excitement in favour of many of the most *poor* and objectionable *ceremonies* of the church.

Before, and about the dawn of the Reformation in Scotland, dramatic compositions, reflecting on the *papal* authority, and its clergy, became very common, and were attended by vast multitudes of the people of all ranks. We have, incidently, a striking proof of the popularity of such exhibitions, from a casual remark in the life of George Wishart, the martyr, who, on visiting Haddington, in 1546, to impart to the people of the town some knowledge of the reformed doctrines, said to his auditors, "I have heard of thee, Haddington, that there would have been at a dramatic exhibition two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the town and parish cannot be numbered a hundred persons."

Kyratoun, a black friar, who had adopted the reform doctrines, composed a drama, on the history of our Saviour's passion, which was publicly represented at Hirling, in 1585, on the morning of Good Friday, in presence of James V. and a large concourse of people. The object of the tragedy was to show that, in the same manner as the priests and pharisees persuaded the Jews to reject the Saviour of mankind, and prevailed upon Pilate to condemn him to death, so do the

bishops and priests of the present day hoodwink the people, and excite kings and rulers to persecute such as professed the blessed gospel. There was so much pungency and wit in the performance, that the authorities took mortal umbrage at its representation; and the unfortunate author met with an awful death for his temerity, by being burnt to ashes on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh, in 1538.

Another author, JAMES WEDDERBURN, a man of a lofty poetical genius, composed various comedies and tragedies in the Scottish language, in which the public authorities, and the clergy generally, were roughly handled. His tragedy of the beheading of John the Baptist was performed at the West Port of Dundee; and a comedy on the history of Dionysius the tyrant, was likewise acted in the play-field of the same burgh. The authorities were so highly incensed against him, from the bitterness of these productions, that he had to make his escape to France, where he remained till his death, which took place at Dieppe. There are no printed copies extant of any of Kyllour or Wedderburne's dramatic effusions.

SIR DAVID LINDESAY is another political satirist of note in Scotland. It has been said of him, by a late distinguished writer, that "he was more of a reformer of Scotland than John Knox; for he had prepared the ground, and John only sowed the seed." Sir David's famous drama, entitled, "The Parliament of Correction; or, a Pleasant Satire of the Three Estates in Commendation of Virtue and Vituperation of Vice," was written in 1535, but first publicly acted at Linlithgow, in 1540, in the presence of James V., his queen, and the lords of the council, spiritual and tem-

poral. It is divided into numerous acts and scenes, and is written in the Scottish language. The drama attacks all the most prominent abuses of the state, both civil and ecclesiastical. The irony is fearless and cutting; and all matters connected with the church—as indulgences, the worship of saints, purgatory, non-residence, pluralities of livings, the ignorance, avarice, and dissolute lives of the clergy, are dealt with in a bitterness and coarseness of diction, that made a deep impression on the popular mind of the day. The chief characters in the piece are a *Poor man*; *Temporality* or *Landholders*; *John the Commonwealth*; *Merchantman* or *Burgess*; and a sprinkling of females, as *Chastity* and *Verity*. To represent the clergy, the author makes *Spirituality* their representative; and this personage betrays a remarkable sensitiveness as to all kinds of alterations and innovations. He is strictly conservative, and has a deep abhorrence of all new-fangled notions on state affairs. His maxim is, “Whatever is, is right.” *Spirituality* is also supported in the part he acts by *Sensuality*, *Falsehood*, *Deceit* and an *Abbess*. After lengthened and warm discussions, the two kings in the drama, *King Correction* and *King Humanity*, with the advice of the *Three Estates*, approve, ratify and confirm a series of acts, to the number of fifteen, for the full redress of the political and ecclesiastical grievances of which the community had so long and loudly complained.

This satire was a great favourite with the people, and they would have witnessed its performance for eight or nine hours, without any falling off in their enthusiasm. The king, himself, we are told, was so deeply affected by the piece, that, at the close of its

representation, he turned upon the Bishop of Glasgow, then his chancellor, and several other prelates, and in a rage, said, "Pack you knaves; get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else, I vow God, I shall reform you: not as the King of Denmark by imprisonment does, nor yet as the King of England does, by hanging and heading; but I shall reform you by the sharp broad-sword."

As a specimen of the author's poetry, we shall give a few lines from the "Monarchie," touching the building of the Tower of Babel.

" Their great fortress then did they found,
 And cast till they gat sure ground.
 All fell to work both man and child,
 Some howkit clay, some burnt the tyld.
 Nimron, that curious champion,
 Deviser was of that dungeon.
 Nothing they spared their labours.
 Like busy bees upon the flowers,
 Or emmets travelling into June;
 Some under wrocht, and some aboon,
 With strang ingenious masonry,
 Upward their wark did fortify; * *
 The land about was fair and plain,
 And it rase like ane heich montane.
 Those fullish people did intend,
 That till the heaven it should ascend:
 Sae great ane strength was never seen
 Into the warld with men's een.
 The wallis of that wark they made,
 Twa and fifty fathom braid:
 Ane fathom then, as some men says,
 Micht been twa fathom in our days;
 Ane man was then of mair stature
 Nor twa be now, of this be sure.

The translator of Orosius
 Untill his chronicle writes thus ;
 That when the sun is at the hicht,
 At noon, when it doth shine maist bricht,
 The shadow of that hideous strength
 Sax mile and mair it is of length ;
 Thus may ye judge into your thocht,
 Gif Babylon be heich, or nocht.

Then the great God omnipotent,
 To whom all things been present,
 He secand the ambition,
 And the prideful presumption,
 How thir proud people did pretend,
 Up through the heavens till ascend,
 Sic languages on them he laid,
 That nane wist what ane other said ;
 Where was but ane language afore,
 God send them languages three score ;

The "Baptistes" of George Buchanan, written in 1540, but not printed till 1576, is a drama of great merit, and contains noble sentiments of liberty and independence. It is a tragedy founded on the death of John the Baptist. The *dramatis personæ* are the speaker of the prologue ; Malachus, a Pharisee ; Gamaliel, a Pharisee ; John the Baptist ; a chorus of the Jews ; Herod, the King ; Herodias, the Queen ; the daughter of the Queen ; and a messenger. The object of the drama is, to hold up the tyranny and cruelty of kings and wicked prelates to execration and contempt. The play was dedicated to James VI. ; and the dedication, for its liberal sentiments, is every way worthy of the tragedy and the author. It was speedily translated into all the languages of the continent.

ANDREW MELVILLE, in his "Diary," 1573, tells us, "This year (1572), in the month of July, Mr. John

Davidson, one of our agents, made a play at the marriage of Mr. John Calvin, which I saw played in Mr. John Knox's presence; wherein, according to Knox's doctrine, the Castle of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the captain, with one or two with him, hanged in effigy."

GEORGE BUCHANAN.—"De Jure Regni apud Scotos." This work of Buchanan's is worthy of especial notice, for the bold political statements it contains. It made a deep impression upon the political mind of Europe, at the time of its first appearance. The leading object of the work is, to show that the royal authority of every country is derived from the people; and that if kings and rulers do not perform their duty, but act falsely to the nation, they may be deposed and killed.

Buchanan says, in reference to his book, "De Jure Regni," "I have deemed this publication expedient that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community. * * * Yet I am compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, least evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your tender mind; especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have, therefore, sent you this treatise not only as an advice, but even as an importunate, and somewhat impudent, exhorter, to direct you at this critical period of life, safely past the dangerous rocks of adulation; not merely to point out the path, but to keep to it; and if you should deviate, to reprove and reclaim your wanderings; which monitor if you obey, you will ensure tranquillity to yourself and your family, and transmit your glory to the most remote posterity."

Buchanan's work is written in the form of a dialogue ; and in that portion of it devoted to the consideration of the origin and nature of government, we find the following passage :—" B. Is there, then, a mutual compact between the king and the people ? M. Thus it seems. B. Does not he who first violates the compact, and does anything against his own stipulations, break his agreement ? M. He does. B. If, then, the bond which attached the king to the people is broken, all rights he derived from the agreement are forfeited ? M. They are forfeited. B. And he who was mutually bound becomes as free as before the agreement ? M. He has the same rights and the same freedom as he had before. B. But if a king should do things tending to the dissolution of human society, for the preservation of which he has been made, what name should we give him ? M. We should call him a tyrant. B. But a tyrant not only possesses no just authority over his people, but is their enemy ? M. He is surely their enemy. B. Is there not a just cause of war against an enemy who has inflicted heavy and intolerable injuries upon us ? M. There is. B. What is the nature of a war against the enemy of all mankind, that is, against a tyrant ? M. None can be more just. B. Is it not lawful in a war just commenced, not only for the whole people, but for any single person to kill an enemy ? M. It must be confessed. B. What, then, shall we say of a tyrant, a public enemy, with whom all good men are in eternal warfare ? may not any one of all mankind inflict on him any penalty of war ? M. I observe that all nations have been of that opinion ; for Theba is extolled for having killed her husband,

and Timoleon for his brother's, and Cassius for his son's death*."

On the importance of Buchanan's political works generally, Sir James Mackintosh remarks, "The science which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence which kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into their admirers. The first man of that period, who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought, was Buchanan; and he, too, seems, to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable, tract, '*De Jure Regni*,' in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."

JOHN KNOX.—"The First Blast of a Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." 1557. Knox was a pupil of Major's, and had imbibed his political sentiments on the nature of civil and ecclesiastical power. In this "Blast," written against the reigning Queen Mary, he maintains that, "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his

* *De Jure*, p. 96.

revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally, it is subversive of all equity and justice." His arguments for this political maxim he draws from the consideration that the divine law announced, at the creation, woman's subjection to man; that female government was not allowed among the Jews; that it was contrary to apostolic injunctions, and must, in all cases, lead to the perversion of government, and to the introduction of pernicious customs and habits among the people.

Of Knox's general opinions and doctrines on political subjects, we have a pretty full account, scattered through his "Historic," and his "Letters." In one place he says,—“In few wordis to speik my conscience; the regiment of princes in this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that no godlie man can bruke office or autoritie under thame, but in so doing hie salbe compellit not onlie aganis equitie and justice to oppress the pure, but also expressidlie to fycht aganis God and his ordinance, either in maintenance of idolatrie, or ellis in persecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must follow heirop, but that either princeis must be reformat and be compellit also to reform their wickit laws, or els all gud men depart fra thair service and companie.” Again, he says, “But now, no farder to trubill you at the present, I will onlie advertis you of sic bruit as I heir in thir partis, uncertainlie noysit, whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebelloun is maid to the autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back from you my consall, yea my judgment and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trueth,

whilk is this, that nane of you that seik to promot the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit autoritie in things lawful, neither yet that ye assist or fortifie such as, for their awn particular caus and warldlie promotioun, wald trubill the same. But, in the bowallis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow, that, with all simplicite and lawful obedience, with boldness in God, and with opin confessioun of your faith, ye seek the favour of the autoritie, that by it (yf possible be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or, at the leist, not persecutit: Whilk thing, efter all humill request, yf ye can not atteane, then, with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to be given to the autoritie in all thingis not plainlie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his haly sacramentis rychtly ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfully may, yea, and thairto is bound, to defend your brethrene from persecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis princes or em-prioris, to the uttermost of your power; provyding always (as I have said) that nether your self deny lawful obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seek autoritie, and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie*."

Knox's ideas of toleration are somewhat curious. He says, "While the posterity of Abraham were *few in number*, and while they sojourned in *different countries*, they were merely required to avoid all participation in the idolatrous rites of the heathen; but *as soon*

* MS. Letters, p. 434.

as they prospered into a kingdom, and had attained *possession of Canaan*, they were strictly charged to suppress idolatry, and to destroy all its monuments and incentives. The same duty was *now* incumbent on the professors of the true religion in Scotland. Formerly, when not more than *ten persons in a county* were enlightened, it would have been foolishness to have demanded of the nobility the suppression of idolatry. But *now* when knowledge has increased," &c.

Hume, Robertson, and other writers have ascribed ultra political principles to Knox, as well as to Buchanan, and other active agents in the early reform movements in Scotland. Robertson says, that Knox's ideas were grounded on "an excessive admiration of ancient policy;" and that his political views were, as a whole, built "not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government." These statements have, in some measure, been met by others of a qualifying character from the pen of Dr. M'Cree, the biographer of the great Scottish reformer. The doctor says, "These assertions need some qualification. If republican government be opposed to absolute monarchy, the principles of Knox and Buchanan may be denominated republican; but if the term (as now commonly understood) be used in contradistinction to monarchy itself, it cannot be shown that they ordained or recommended republicanism. They were the friends of limited monarchy. It is the excellence of the government of Britain, that the feudal maxims which once predominated in it have been corrected, or their influence counteracted by others borrowed from republican constitutions. And it is not a little to the credit of these great men, and evinces their good sense

and moderation, that, notwithstanding all their admiration of ancient models of legislation, in comparison with the existing feudal monuments, they contented themselves with recommending such principles as tended to restrain the arbitrary power of kings, and secure the rights of the people. Nor were all their authorities and examples drawn from ancient writers, as may be seen in Buchanan's dialogue, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos* *."

It is curious to have a record of what, in the opinion of the leading spirits in Scotland at this period, constituted heresy. An extract from Archbishop Hamilton's catechism, published at the university of St. Andrew's, gives us some light on the subject.

"Heir it is expedient to describe quha is ane heretyk; quhilk descriptioun we will nocht mak be our awin proper invencion, but we will tak it as it is els made and geven to us, be twa of the maist excellent doctouris of haly kirk, Hierome and Augustine. Thir are the wordis of St. Hierome, quilk he sais in his Commentarie upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galathians: *Quicumque aliter scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licet de ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hereticus appellari potest.* Quhat Christin man or woman soevir thai ar quhilk understandis the Haly Scripture otherwayis than ye mind of ye Haly Spirit requiris, (be quhais inspiracion the Scripture was writtin) supposs he gang nocht fra the company of ye kirk, zit he may be callit an heretyk. Now hear the wordis of St. Augustin, descryvand quah is ane heretyk: *Hereticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et*

* Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 461.

maxime glorie principatusq.: sui gratia, falsas et novas opiniones vel gignit, vel sequitur. Efter my opinion (sais he) he is ane heretyk, quhilk, because of any warldlie profeit, and maist of all, because of his awin glorie and promotioun, leiffas the trew faith, and other makis or followis fals and new opinions. Gif ye speir agane at me, how may ze knaw the trew sence of the Scripture intendit be ye haly Spirit, and sa discern ye verite of our faith fra new and fals opiniouns callit hereseis? Trewly this ze may knaw and discern be thre wayis: First, be trew collatioun, applicatioun, and conferring ane place of the Scripture till ane uther, for commonly ye sentëce quhilk is put in ane place of the scripture obscurly, the same sentëce is put in ane other place of the scripture pleanly. Than quha sa hais the ingyne, cunning or knowledge to cöferre ye obscure place to ye plain place, may cum to ye trew understanding of the obscure place. And maist of all, it helpis us to ye trew intelligence of ye scripture, to tak gud tent to the wordis that ar written immediately afore the text yat we heir or reidis, and alsua yat followis efterhand ye same; for sum tyme ye wordis written afore, sum tyme ye wordis written eftirhend, sum tyme ye wordis afore and efter, opinnis til us ye trew and plain sense of yat text of ye scripture quhilk we desyre to understand. Bot because mony men reidis ye scripture, and hes nocht ye gift of ye haly spirit, callit interpretatio sermonü, the interpretation of wordis, that is to say, (after ane exposition) of difficil and obscure places; theirfore, it is expediët to cum to ye secüd way quhilk is ye expositiö of autentik doctors, approvit be ye auctorite of haly kirk, and resavit be lang consent of ye Christin peple, as Herome, Am-

brose, Augustine, Gregorie, Chrisostome, with mony uther sic lyke, to quhome ye haly spirit gaif ye gift of interpretacion and exposition of ye scripture, and alsua leirit ye trew sence of ye same at yair doctouris and elderis, quhilk likewais leirit ye same trew sence at yair doctouris and elderis, sa ascendät to ye apostils. The thrid way to knaw quhat are ye bukis of haly write, quhat is the trew sence of ye same, quhat ar the articlis quhilk ar heresie, is ye declaracioun, determinatioun, and decisionis of general counselis, gaderit togidder and concludit be ye inspiratioun of the haly spirit, quhame the father eternall, and our salviour Jesus Christ his natural sonne hais gevn to the kirk to be leder, techar, and direckar of ye same kirk, in all matteris cöcerning our catholike faith."

ANDREW MELVILLE was the author of the "Second Book of Discipline," 1578; a work partaking of both a civil and religious character, and which was adopted, after long and deliberate discussion, by the General Assembly of Scotland, as its theological and political creed. This work points out the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power; declaring that our Saviour distinctly appointed a government of the christian church entirely apart from civil government; that this christian church government is to be exercised in his name, and by such officers as he has recognised, and not by any means to be brought under the cognizance and authority of civil rulers. Civil institutions, this treatise shows, have for their direct aim, the promoting or securing of external peace, quietness, and happiness among the subjects of a realm; but ecclesiastical authority has the directing and influencing of men in matters of conscience; yet both kinds of go-

vernement or power are of God, and, if rightly used and understood, tend to one general or common end—the glorifying of God and making men good subjects. This is the general theory of religious and civil power entertained even now by the Scottish established faith, as to the nature and abstract relations subsisting between religion and the state.

The Scottish “League and Covenant,” was an influential document on the political movements and modes of thinking among the reformers of this part of the kingdom. It was simply a solemn abjuration of popery, both in its civil and religious character. It repudiates the various articles of this system, and engages to adhere to and defend the reformed doctrine, both in principle and discipline. The Covenanters pledged themselves on oath, “To defend his majesty’s person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in defence of Christ’s evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity against all enemies within the realme or without.” This document the king signed on the 28th of January, 1581.

The accession of Edward VI. to the English throne, in 1546, gave a fuller scope to the principles of the Reformation, and the maxims of general and individual freedom began to be more frequently discussed and examined. A little before this date we have “The Governor,” 1531, of Sir Thomas Elyot. There are no abstract principles of politics fully examined in this treatise; for in that portion of it in which he points out the qualities which a good governor should possess, he only dwells on subjects of a personal and temporary nature. Sir John Cheke, in 1540, pub-

lished "The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth;" a work of but very narrow and contracted views.

We have a somewhat curious work, entitled, "The Complaynt of Roderyck Mars, sometime a gray fryre vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland, his natural country: for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs, a(n)d cruel decreys," published about 1548. The work contains twenty-five chapters. The following are some of their titles, "Of inhansing of rentys by landlordes;" "Of the forfeiting of landys or goodys of traytors, felons, or murderers;" "Of the inclosing of parkys, forestys, chasys, &c.;" "Of the sellying of wardys for marriage, whereof ensueth adultery, which owght to be ponyssed by death." With respect to the raising the price of land, the author proposes, by way of remedy, "That the king (Edward VI.) shall compel all landholders to let their estates at the same rent they produced forty or fifty years before, under the penalty of *forfeiting the whole*; one part to go to the king, another to the commonwealth, and the third to the informer.

On the accession of Mary, in 1553, the reform opinions received a temporary check. Her reign, however, was short; and she was succeeded by Elizabeth in 1558. Political discussions became now more general, although the queen, during her whole life, was never enamoured with anything like civil freedom. She maintained her opinions on the nature of the royal prerogative with a high hand.

The "Fall of Princes," by John Bochas, 1555, purports to give a full and careful enumeration of all those monarchs, who, since the days of Adam, have

fallen from their lofty station and become miserable. The work is in black letter, written in verse, and is, in many respects, a very curious production. It gives good counsel both to princes and people.

In the reign of Elizabeth, of which we are now treating, the political opinions of the pope were still the same as to the right of temporal power over the princes of the earth. This is obvious from the Bull which Pius V. issued against this princess. "He who reigneth on high," says his holiness, "to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy and catholic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, that is, to Peter, the prince of apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath constituted prince over all nations that he may pluck up, overthrow, disperse, destroy, plant, and rear. * * * We deprive the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolve all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever in regard to dominion, fidelity and obedience."

This doctrine of absolute political authority was not maintained by Rome in reference to Great Britain alone; but the same claims were made towards other European states. The Bull of Sixtus V., 1585, against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, runs thus:—"The authority given to St. Peter and his successors by the immense power of the Eternal King, excels all the power of earthly princes; it passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all; and if it find any

of them resisting the ordinance of God, it takes a more severe vengeance upon them, casting them down from their throne, however powerful they may be, and tumbling them to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer. We deprive them and their posterity, of their dominions for ever. By the authority of these presents, we absolve and free all persons from their oath of allegiance, and from all duty whatsoever relating to dominion, fealty, and obedience; and we charge and forbid all from presuming to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, or commands."

JOHN AYLMER.—"An Harborrowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Women," 1549. Aylmer was one of the English refugees on the continent, had been archdeacon of Stowe, and tutor of Lady Jane Grey. The book was written, according to his biographer's account, "upon a consultation holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new queen (Elizabeth) and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them, and of the religion which they professed." As the work was published to counteract the influence of Knox's "Blast," the author says, "If the writer had not swerved from the particular to the general question, and confined himself to the queen who had recently filled the throne, he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as to have offended any indifferent man;" for that Mary's government was "unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful."

The archdeacon flatters the queen, but is not so lavish of his praises on the ladies generally. He says, "Some women be wiser, better learned, discreter, con-

stanter, than a number of men ; but the most part are fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tatters, trifling, wavering, wittles, without counsel, feable, and carles, rashe, proud, daintie, nise, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, romour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and in everywise, doltified with the dregges of the devil's doungehill."

Dr. M'Cree says that "The Harborrowe" has been written with great care ; it contains a good collection of historical facts bearing on the question, and though more distinguished for rhetorical exaggeration than logical precision, the reasoning is ingeniously conducted and occasionally enlivened by strokes of humour. It is, upon the whole, a curious as well as a rare book."

Of the bold and fierce spirit in which political opinions were expressed by the early reformers in England, as well as Scotland, the following denunciations of Aylmer on the French monarch, Henry II., furnish a striking specimen. "Is he a king or a devil, a Christian or a lucifer, that bi his cursed confederacie so encourageth the Turke?—Oh ! wicked caitiff and firebrand of hell, which for the increasing of his pomp and vayn glory (which he shall not long enjoy) will betray Christ and his cross to his mortal enemy. Oh foolish Germains ! which see not their own undoing, which conspire not together, with the rest of Christian princes, to pull such a traytour to God and his kingdom, by the eares out of Fraunce, and hang him against the sonne a drying. The devill hath none other of his sede nowe but him, to maintaine both the spiritual and temporall antichryste, the Pope and the Turke. Wherefore seeing he hath forsaken God, lyke

an apostata, and sold himself to the Devell, let us not doubt but God will be with us against him, whensoever he shall seek to wrong us; and I trust he will now in the latter age of the worlde shew his might in cutting off this proud Holofernes' head, by the hands of our Judith. Oh! blessed is that man that loseth his lyfe against such a Termagaunt! yea more blessed shall they be that spend their lyves against him than against his great maister the Turke: for the Turke never understode the crosse of Christ; for this Turkish apostata is named a devilis name, *Christianissimus*, and is in the very heart of Christendome, and lyke a traiterous Saracene is Christ's enemy*."

Aylmer had enlightened ideas on the general nature of the British constitution. He keeps abstract principles in view, while he enlarges on matters that may be at variance with them. He says, "A city is at the pit's brinke, wherein the magistrate ruleth the lawes, and not the lawes the magistrate." He thought the English system of polity the best in the world, at the time he lived. "I can find none either so good or so indifferent. * * * The regemente of Englande is not a mere monarchie, as some for lacke of consideracion thinke, nor a mere oligarchie nor democracie, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein eche one of these have or should have like authoritie. The image whereof, and the image, but the thing in dede is to be sene in the parliament hous, wherein you shall find these three estats; the king or quene which representeth the monarchie, the noblemen which be the aristocratic, and the burgesses and knights the democratie. If the parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing

* Harborowe for Faithful Subjects, Q, 1. Strasborowe, 1550.

without them. If he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their fault in permitting it*."

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.—"How superior powers ought to be obeyd; of their subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully by God's worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same." (Geneva, 1558). The author in this work argues for a limitation of the power of kings and rulers; and that, if they violate any of the great and fundamental principles of national justice, right or liberty, they may be lawfully resisted, deposed and punished by their subjects, if they become thoroughly tyrannical and profligate. Goodman inserts some verses, breathing the same sentiments, written by William Kethe, (a translator of the psalms of David into English metre) of which the following lines are a specimen.

" Whom fury long fostered by suffrance and awe,
Have right rule subverted, and made will their law,
Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell,
So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel."

Goodman maintains the same opinions as John Knox did, as to the nature of feudal government. He was afterwards obliged to modify these, and some other of his political principles, in compliance with the desire of Queen Elizabeth and her court. He had to confess that "good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and powerful nations;" and some explanations were given by him as to the principle of physical resistance to constituted authorities, which

* Pp. 2, 3.

satisfied for the time, the consciences of his enemies. Collier calls all this "a lame recantation*."

DR. JOHN POYNET.—"A short treatise of Political Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjectes owe to Kynges." (1559). This writer was, first, bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of Winchester, under Edward VI. As the title of the book implies, he enters fully into the nature of political authority and power, and discusses it as absolute and as limited; chalks out the boundaries of civil obedience to rulers and kings; and maintains the power and right of the people to depose and punish those who act tyrannically towards them. Strype says, "This book was not over favourable to princes. Their rigour and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceful subjects in these times, put them upon examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and strayten as much as they could. This book was printed again in 1642, to serve the turn of those times†."

Poynet's work is divided into seven chapters. 1st, "Whereof politique power groweth, whereof it was ordained, and the right use and duty of the same? 2nd,—Whether kings, princes, and other governors, have an absolute power and authority over their subjects? 3rd,—Whether kings, princes, and all other politique governors be subject to God's laws, or the positive laws of the country? 4th,—In what things, and how far, subjects are bound to obey their princes and governors? 5th,—Whether all the subject's goods be the emperor's or king's own, and that they may

* Eccl. Hist. ii. 440.

† Strype's Annals, i. 126.

lawfully take them for their own? 6th.—Whether it be lawful to depose an evil governor and kill a tyrant? 7th.—What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates?"

The doctrines of Poynt are extremely bold and daring for their age. On the doctrine of deposing kings, he says, "The manifold and continual examples that have been from time to time, of the deposing of kings and killing of tyrants, do most certainly confirm it to be most true, just, and consonant to God's judgment. The history of kings in the old Testament is full of it. . . . The reasons, arguments, and laws that serve for the deposing and displacing of an evil governor will do as much for the proof that it is lawful to kill a tyrant, if they may be indifferently heard. As God hath ordained magistrates to hear and determine private men's matters, and to punish their vices, so also willet he that the magistrate's doing be called to account and reckoning, and their vices corrected and punished by the body of the whole congregation or commonwealth."

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT, was a zealous advocate of the political principles of the Reformation; and wrote his "*Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris*," about 1560. James I. punished him for his liberal opinions, by confining him strictly to his college; and this treatment, it has been said, greatly hastened Arbuthnot's death. Sir Thomas Chaloner, born in 1515, published his chief work in 1556, entitled, "*On the Right Ordering of the English Commonwealth*." This was afterwards enlarged, and given to the public with the title, "*De Republica Anglorum Instauranda*." A little after this we have HUBERT LANGUET, with his

"*Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos*," 1579. This author was the personal friend of Sir Philip Sidney. The object of the treatise is, to prove that if kings and rulers despoil God's church, countenance or adopt idolatrous customs or ceremonies, or trample upon the privileges of their subjects, they may be deposed by the state, which is, in fact, under a deep obligation to do so.

HENRY PENRY, commonly known by the name of "Mar-Prelate," was a writer of party-politics of considerable notoriety in his day. He was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards went to Oxford, where he was admitted into priest's orders. He adopted both the political and religious principles of the puritans; and civil and theological controversies running high at the time, he launched into the midst of them with all the ardour and recklessness of his temperament. He became a member of a club of writers who had a press of their own, from which many productions privately issued, which proved very galling to their antagonists. Of these, the most offensive bore the signature of "Martin Mar-Prelate." The episcopal hierarchy, and all its supporters, were especial objects of attack. Among the many writings of Penry, the best known, and the most able, are, "*Theses Martinianæ*;" "*A View of Public Wants and Disorders in the Service of God*;" "*Exhortation to the Governors and People of Wales*;" "*Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State*;" "*Sir Simon Synod's Hue and Cry*."

Elizabeth's government had, for some time, kept its eye upon the movements of the writer; and, at length, a warrant was granted for his apprehension; but he took refuge in Scotland, where he drew up a petition

to be presented to her majesty. With this instrument he ventured to return to England, and took refuge near to Stepney; but his place of concealment being discovered by the vicar of the parish, Penry was handed over to the public authorities. The government officers purposed, at first, to prosecute him for the several books he had published; but the requisite time, within which such a prosecution could be instituted, having elapsed, they fell upon the unconstitutional and iniquitous step of indicting him for "seditious words and rumours against the queen's most excellent majesty, tending to stir up rebellion among her subjects." There was no evidence to support this charge, except some loose and vague impressions taken from his private papers, which were held to *imply* a denial of the queen's authority. He was adjudged guilty of felony, and sentenced to death. Archbishop Whitgift was the first to sign his death-warrant. He was taken suddenly, one afternoon, from the King's Bench to St. Thomas Waterings, and there hanged in the presence of a small number of spectators.

The following Latin rhythmical numbers were written on this writer, and some of his friends and associates; and were, long after his death, popular among the people.

" Hic jacet, ut pinus.
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus.
Nec Cœlestinus,
Nec magnus Godwinus.
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam Clandestinus.
Miser ille Martinus,
Videti singuli.

" O vas Martinistæ,
 Et vas Brownistæ,
 Et vas Barrowistæ,
 Et vas Atheistæ,
 Et Anabaptistæ,
 Et vas Hacketistæ,
 Et Higgintonistæ,
 Et omnes sectistæ,
 Quorum dux fuit iste.
 Lugete singuli.

" Et gens Anglorum,
 Presertim verorum,
 Nec non qui morum,
 Estis bonorum,
 Inimici horum,
 Ut est decorum,
 Per omne forum,
 In secula seculorum.
 Gaudete singuli."

The good people of Scotland had, likewise, a rhyme on the same unfortunate victim of oppression.

" The Welshman is hanged,
 Wha at our kirke flanged,
 And at our state banded
 And brend ane his buks.
 And though he be hanged,
 Yet he is not wranged ;
 The devil has him fanged,
 In his kruked kluks."

UDAL, a dissenting clergyman, wrote a work, called, "A Demonstration of Discipline," in which he spoke disrespectfully of the government of bishops. Though the author was careful to conceal his name, yet the authorities of Queen Elizabeth threw him into prison, and he was brought to trial for the offence. The

judges would allow the jury to determine nothing, save the simple fact—whether Udal had written the book or not. No evidence as to his intentions, nor on the construction of his language, could be admitted. There was no proof offered that he had even written the treatise, except the testimony of two persons which affirmed that Udal had acknowledged the authorship. A verdict of death was given against the writer, but he died in prison before the execution of his sentence.

ROSE.—This author's work, "*De Justa Reipublica in Reges Potestate*," was published in 1590. The author's aim is to discuss the origin of society, and to examine the principles upon which the election of magistrates is grounded; and likewise to show that all the forms and limitations of governments have sprung from the choice of the people, except in case of conquest. He stoutly advocates the doctrine that it is just and necessary to kill political tyrants whenever they violate their solemn engagements with the people.

EDMUND RICHER, a learned divine, and grand master of the college of Le Moine, published a work in London (1593) in opposition to the political authority of the pope, entitled, "*On the Civil and Ecclesiastical Power*." This performance brought upon him the hatred of the clerical body, and he was censured by a council of bishops, who proscribed and condemned him. He was committed to the prison of St. Victor. In order to obtain his release, he made a partial recantation of his opinions, under the guidance and direction of Cardinal Richelieu. In the same year, Bishop Wilson wrote his, "*Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*," a work which argued for the superiority of Episcopacy, and its

necessity for state purposes. Another controversial work of his, of the same kind, is called, "On Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion." Following this treatise, we have, "Polimanteia; or, the Means to Judge of the Fall of a Commonwealth, wherein is annexed a Letter from England to her three Daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, and Inns of Court." By W. C. Cambridge, 1594.

ALBERICUS GENTILIS.—"De Legationibus," 1583; "De Jure Belli," 1589. The author of these two works was an Italian protestant, and became, through the interest of the Earl of Leicester, Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. One of the treatises is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. Grotius acknowledges his obligations to this writer. We have, likewise, at this time, WILLIAM BARCLAY's "De Regno et Regali," 1600. This political writer was an English catholic, and his work is chiefly intended as an answer to Buchanan, Boucher, and others, as to the rights and privileges of the people. Barclay considers that the king has no superior in temporal matters; that the nation is bound, in all cases, to obey his will; and that it is his own individual power which confers authority on all laws.

SIR THOMAS SMITH wrote his "Commonwealth of England," in 1583. He enters, in the first book, into the various kinds or sorts of commonwealths; what is just and lawful for a commonwealth to enact; gives examples of changes in the governments of every country; few commonwealths are of a simple or unmixed character; gives a definition of a king and a tyrant; describes an absolute sovereign; of the name of king, and of the administration of England; what is a commonwealth; the different theories as to the origin

of society; and the policy of every commonwealth must coincide with the nature and circumstances of a people. In the second book, he gives us a general definition of the laws of England; and, in the last book, treats of special matters, such as the Star Chamber, marriages, bondmen, &c.

The author's distinction between a constitutional monarch and a tyrant is, that the former is chosen or appointed by the people, and rules by the laws which proceed from them; whereas, a tyrant rules by his own will, and sets the wishes and interests of his people at defiance.

RICHARD HOOKER. "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, in eight books," 1594. This valuable work contains an immense fund of information and knowledge for the politician. Many general principles and maxims of government are laid down with such care and judgment, and are so applicable to all times and seasons, that they prove of great utility to all minds which are apt to be bewildered by a multitude of incidental matters of detail. Hooker is an invaluable synthetical compendium of all the popular arguments, or the origin and leading principles of the social confederacy of nations. The work is fully entitled to every word which Clement VIII. is said to have spoken of it. "This man, indeed, deserves the name of an author. His books will get reverence by age; for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that they shall continue till the last fire shall devour all learning."

In the second year before the close of the reign of Elizabeth (1602), we have the origin of a distinct and important section of political science, namely, that which legally enforces and regulates the support of the

poor, the destitute, the aged, and the infirm. To British authors this branch of the parent science of general polity, owes more than to the writers of any other country, or to the writers of all countries put together, both from the soundness of their general principles, and for the humanity and philanthropy displayed in their general discussion and development.

Previous to the reign of Henry VIII. the poor were maintained from the funds of the church; but that king having laid his hands upon them, the poor, for many long years, were thrown to the wall, and suffered great hardships and cruelty. The evils resulting from this want of legal provision for them, gradually increasing, till towards the close of the life of Elizabeth, she became so sensible of the danger and impolicy of any longer delay in providing a remedy, that she caused the celebrated act called the *forty-third* of her reign, to be enacted for the compulsory relief of the poor and destitute. This has hitherto been considered as the indigent's *magna charta*. We shall not enter into any formal examinations of the provisions of this famous enactment; but suffice ourselves with merely noticing the very early attention that some of its leading provisions excited, which involve several prominent principles of social and political economy.

About a couple of years after this poor-law enactment was made, a number of individuals in the south of England, chiefly landholders and wealthy farmers, joined together, drew up certain queries, ten in number, respecting the correct interpretation of the act, in some of its fundamental provisions. These queries were forwarded to a most distinguished lawyer of that day, called

Sergeant Snigge, contemporary with Coke, Plowden, Glanvyl, and other distinguished men. This Mr. Snigge was knighted, and made a judge by James I. We cannot give here the whole of these queries, but we shall select one, comprehending a primary principle of parochial relief, which has been, in subsequent times, a keen and important topic of discussion. This query relates to *Farming the Poor*, and is thus stated, "Question 9.—Some of the more wealthy farmers in the parish have devised a skilful mode by which all the trouble of executing this act (the 43rd of Elizabeth), might be avoided. They have proposed that we shall *erect a prison in the parish*, and then give notice to the neighbourhood, that if any persons are disposed to farm the poor of this parish, they do give in sealed proposals, on a certain day, of the lowest price at which they will take off our hands; and that they will be authorised to *refuse to any one unless he be shut up in the aforesaid prison*. The proposers of this plan conceive that there will be found in the adjoining counties, persons, who, being *unwilling to labour, and not possessing substance or credit* to take a farm or ship, so as to live without labour, may be induced to *make a very advantageous offer to the parish*. *If any of the poor perish under the contractor's care, the sin will lie at his door* as the parish will have done its *duty by them*. We are, however, apprehensive that the present act (43rd of Elizabeth), will not warrant a *prudential* measure of this kind; but you are to learn that the rest of the *freeholders* of the county, and of the adjoining county of B., will very readily join in instructing their members to propose an act to enable the parish to contract with a person to *lock up and work the poor*; and to declare that if any

person shall refuse to be so locked up and worked, he shall be entitled to no relief. This, it is hoped, will *prevent persons in distress from wanting relief*, and be the means of *keeping down parishes*."

To this the learned lawyer sent the following answer: "It is a just suspect of the parish, that such a measure as they allude to, *will not be warranted by the act*. And I deem too highly of the *wisdom and integrity* of the High Court of Parliament, to surmise that they will give their *sanction to any such doings*. Should any person ever be so *weak and wicked* as to propound, or even to vote for such a law, they will be answerable, in conscience, not only for every poor person who may die; but, also, for *every instance of suffering or of depravity* in consequence of it. It is true that, in case the necessities of life be lowered after the contract has been entered into, the contractor may thrive, and yet the poor may not suffer; but, if these articles rise in price, it is not possible for a *needy vagabond* to supply the difference. In such hands the poor must inevitably perish. Again, I should observe, that when under sickness or temporary distress, a poor man is to be sent *hopeless* into such a place of confinement, his spirit must, in most instances, be broken, and he become a burden to the parish for life*."

* Law Tracts, 1602.

SECTION II.

From James I., 1603, to the death of Charles I. in 1649.

THE reign of James I. forms an epoch in the history of British political literature. His zealous defence of the divine appointment of kings, gave a strong and decided tincture to all the speculations of the times on the nature and offices of general government. Most of the clergy, and even those laymen in any way connected with the administration of public affairs, adopted, with more or less qualification, the political theory of the royal author.

This king wrote a work, "On the Duties of a Monarch," 1605; but, perhaps, the best epitome of his ideas of the nature of a monarchy, and the privileges and prerogatives of the kingly office, is that contained in one of his royal speeches, made on June 20th, 1616, in the Star Chamber, before the judges of the realm*. This speech embraces several political questions of importance; and it is peculiarly interesting to trace the progress of public opinion on many of them.

On the Divine Right of Kings, the monarch expresses himself thus:—"As towchinge the dignitie of a kinge he seyed that they sitt in the throne of God and therefore are in scripture tearmed Godds and that good kinges are to imitate God in justice and sinceritie of hart but wthout private respect for the advancem^t

* "The Kinge's Speech in the Starre Chamber, taken by Ned Wakeman." London, 1616.

of their owne endes or vaine glorie for otherwise they are but unjust and unrighteous. And that as good Judges they are to imitate Solamon and Davide the one in wisdom the other in holynes. Kinges are properlie Judges and all Judgem^{ts} are theirs how be it they are pronounced by their Judges as their ministers and substitutes by authoritie derived from them as from the ymediate liveten^{ant} of God. And although the manner and formes of governm^t doe varie accordinge to the diversitie of Kingdomes yet the sentences pronounced by the mouthes of the Judges (elected by the Kinge as interpreters of his lawes) are his and he is to answer for them before God soe as there is a neere league and affinitie betweene the Kinge and God upward so is there as neere betweene the Kinge and the Judge downwarde whose office and duty is to declare and expounde lawes not to invent and make lawes."

The king gives this explanation of his not having previously appeared before the judges in the Star Chamber, because, "when he came into this kingdom he was an olde Kinge yet was he but a straunger to our lawes and governm^t and therefore like one of Pathagoras schollers he thought good to professe silence duringe the first seaven yeres and to passe a prentishippe in learninge before he beganne to teache thinkeinge himselfe oonapt to ascende the seat of Judicature before he had learned howe to judge."

His majesty divides the charge into three heads.

"1. First the charge he was to give himselfe for a K. cannot give a good charge to his subjects except he doth first beginne wth himselfe for good waters flowe not but from good springes.

" 2. The second was a caveat to the Judges.

" 3. The third was an admonition to his subjects.

The king's caveat to the judges runs thus : " Then he spake," continues the reporter, " of the Court of Chauncery w^{ch} he sayd was ordained for the mitigation of the rigor of the comen lawe and that the Chauncellor was but the dispencer of his conscience, that it was a highe Court, and that *Teste meipse* was most properly written there. That from thence was no appeale to any other Court, and that he was speciallie bound to maintayne this Court. But yett this Court must keepe it self w^{ch} in his limitts and the Chauncellor was not to exceede his authoritie as he sayd he had often given him in charge, but to proceede accordinge as he hath been used in the auncient and best times, and if he transgressed his limitts and bounds the Judges of other courts maie not reform it but complaynt thereof to be made to his ma^{ty}. For the p^{re}sent Chauncellor he sayd at his coming into the kingdome he found him in that place wherein he had ever sence conteyned him and wished he might longe conteynewe therein and he sayd that the attempt to bringe the Chauncellor within the compasse of Premunire was odious and absurde for to indite him sittinge as it were in his owne place were to indite himselfe and to torne himselfe uppon the pointe of his owne sworde."

The monarch draws the following picture of a justice of the peace in his own day.

" As touchinge the office of a Justice of Peace he s^d that although yt seemed to some fantastickall greene headed gentlemen to be in office of litle reputacion, yet it was in his opinion both worshipfull and hon^orable and of as great necessitie for the well orderinge of the

ffairesa of the countrey as the highest offices and places for managinge of matters of state in the court. But because Justices of the Peace were of two kindes, the one good the other badde, his pleasure was that the judges should from time to time advrtise him of such as did well execute theire offices. . . . Of these badde Justices he s^d there were fower sortes. The first were such as were loyteringe Justices and laye at home and did nothinge. The second were busiebodies, who did so much embraceinge many businesses for the enlargem^t of theire private gaigne and profits. The thirde sorte were factious and contentious justices. The fowerth such as had a puritanicall itchinge to stirre the people against governem^t and discipline. All such justices (as unprofitable members and ministers) he would have casheered."

The king's ideas of the papal power were very decided and uncompromising. "The King declared his mind towchinge priests which he would have by all means possible extirpated":—

"Yet would he proceed wth greater severitie against some than against other some for he protested he was lothe to hang a priest for sayinge of masse, or for the mere execution of theire office or function. But for such as refused to take the oathe of allegiance (w^{ch} he s^d lette the Pope and all the divills of hell say what they will was but a meere temporall oathe) he would have dispatched. In the like manner would he have them deale wth such as haveinge binne formerly banished presume to retorne hether againe. He allsoe signified to the Judges that he would have those priests that broke prison taste of the same cuppe for he s^d those men w^{ch} could not be kept wthin the walls of a

prison reserved to be hable in the noose of a halter: moreover that they were not like St Peter who went out of prison before an angell of heaven called him whereas these are called forth by angell of hell. Then he said he had given directions for the examination of the priests remaininge in Wisbitch Castle, towards whom he would proceed eyther favourable or severely according as they gave him occasion by theyre answers."

LORD Bacon has the following highly coloured passage on the character of James' work. "I cannot but mention *honoris causa*, your majesty's excellent book touching the *Duty of a King*, a work richly compounded of divinity, morality, and policy, with great aspersion of all other arts; and being, in mine opinion, one of the most sound and healthful writings that I have read; not distempered in the heat of invention, nor in the coldness of negligence; not sick of business, as those are who lose themselves in their order, nor of convulsions, as those which cramp in matters impertinent; not savouring of perfumes and paintings, as those do who seek to please the reader more than nature beareth; and chiefly well disposed in the spirits thereof, being agreeable to truth and apt for action; and far removed from that natural infirmity, whereunto I noted those that write in their own professions to be subject, which is, that they exalt it above measure; for your majesty hath truly described, not a king of Assyria, or Persia in their eastern glory, but a Moses or a David, pastors of their people. Neither can I leese out of my remembrance, what I heard your Majesty, in the same sacred spirit of government, deliver in a great cause of judicature, which was "That kings ruled by their laws, as God did by the laws of

nature ; and ought as rarely to put in use, their supreme prerogatives, as God doth his power of working miracles." And yet, notwithstanding, in your book of a free monarchy, you do well give men to understand that you know the plenitude of the power and right of a king, as well as the circle of his office and duty."

The edition of the entire work of his majesty, bears the date of 1610, folio, London ; and contains a full length portrait of the royal author, with the following lines underneath :—

"Crowns haue their compasse, length of days their date,
Triumpes their tombes, felicite her fate ;
Of more than earth, can earth make none partaker,
But knowledge makes the *King* most like his master.

The essay on the "Duty of a Monarch" commences at page 283 of this volume, and ends at p. 341.

The king, in his book on "Monarchy," says, that a free and absolute monarch is at liberty to do what he pleases with his people, "who are not permitted to make any resistance but by *flight*, as we may see by the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures, among whom we never read or hear of any resistance to their parents, *except among vipers*."

In the king's other treatise, "Basilicon Doron," addressed to his son, Prince Henry, he maintains, that the office of a king is partly civil and partly ecclesiastical ; that a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church ; that it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text ; that parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, and is the mother of confusion ; and, in short, that episcopacy should be set up, and the principal presbyterian ministers banished from the country.

WILLIAM BELLENDEN, a Scotch writer, published in 1602, "*Ciceronis Princeps*," containing a collection from such passages of Cicero as related to a prince and the principles of government. This was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, and included, likewise, a Discourse "*De processu et Scriptoribus rei Politicæ*." In 1612, "*Ciceronis, Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus*," was given to the public. The author planned and partly executed another work, "*De Statu Prisci Orbis*," but did not finish it. He then united the three treatises into one, under the title of "*Bellendenus de Statu*." Dr. Parr republished the work, with a preface, in 1787.

BRADSHAW, published (1604) his "*English Puritanism*," in which the principles of that class of religious and political reformers, are given. Passing over the theological portion of the work, we come to the *civil magistrates*. 1st,—The puritans held that the civil magistrate ought to have supreme civil power over all the churches within his dominions; but that as he is a christian, he ought to be a member of some one of them. 2nd,—That all ecclesiastical offices are punishable by the civil magistrate for the abuse of their ecclesiastical offices; and much more if they intrude upon the rights and prerogatives of the civil authority. 3rd,—They hold the pope to be antichrist, because he usurps the supremacy over kings and princes; and, therefore, all who defend the popish faith, and that are for tolerating their religion, are secret enemies of the king's supremacy. 4th,—That all archbishops, bishops, deans, officials, who hold their offices and functions at the king's will and pleasure, merely *jure humano*; and whosoever holdeth, that the

king may not remove them, and dispose of them at his pleasure, is an enemy to his supremacy.

LORD BACON, 1605.—Lord Bacon cannot be considered a theoretical or systematic writer on politics, for he has not developed any particular system of polity in his several political fragments or essays. But he has been rather an influential writer in the way of giving wholesome counsel both to legislators and the people; and his many pithy and profound sayings on the nature and duties of governments generally, have become the every-day proverbs, both in modern club-rooms, and in houses of parliament.

In Bacon's view, political knowledge was surrounded with great innate difficulties. He says, "Civil knowledge is conversant about a subject which of all others is most immersed in matter, and hardliest reduced to axiom. Nevertheless, as Cato the Censor said, 'That the Romans were like sheep, for that a man might better drive a flock of them, than one of them; for in a flock, if you could but get some few to go right, the rest would follow;'" so in that respect moral philosophy propoundeth to itself the framing of internal goodness; but civil knowledge requireth only an external goodness; for that as to society sufficeth. And therefore it cometh oft to pass that there be evil times in good governments; for so we find in the holy story when the kings were good, yet it is added, 'Nevertheless, the people gave not their hearts to the Lord God of their fathers.' Again, states, as great engines, move slowly, and are not soon put out of frame; for as Egypt, the seven good years, sustained the seven bad, so governments, for a time well grounded, do bear out errors following; but the resolution of parti-

cular persons is more suddenly subverted. These respects do somewhat qualify the extreme difficulty of civil knowledge*.”

Again, “Concerning government; it is a part of knowledge secret and retired; in both these respects in which things are deemed secret; for some things are secret because they are too hard to know, and some because they are not fit to utter. * * * We see the government of God over the world is hidden; inasmuch as it seemeth to participate of much irregularity and confusion. * * * But, contrarywise, in the governors towards the governed, all things ought, as far as the frailty of man permitteth, to be manifest and revealed. For so it is expressed in the scriptures, touching the government of God, that this globe, which seemeth to us a dark and shady body, is in the view of God as crystal. So unto princes and states, especially towards wise senates and councils, the natures and dispositions of the people, their conditions and necessities, their factions and combinations, their animosities and discontents, ought to be, in regard to the variety of their intelligences, the wisdom of their observations, and the height of their station, where they keep sentinel, in great part clear and transparent.”

Bacon had high and venerable notions of royalty. He says, “Kings are mortal gods on earth; unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour.” Again, he says, “Whoever honour them not, are next atheists, wanting the fear of God in their hearts.” He gives them, however, a word of rebuke; for he tells us, “They are, of all men, they to whom God is

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the least beholden—He doing the most for them, and they, ordinarily, the least for Him*.”

Bacon maintains, that one of the great drawbacks to wholesome legislation is, that those who have written of laws, have written of them either as philosophers or as lawyers, and but few as *statesmen*. The philosophers make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, “And their discourses are as the stars, which give little light because they are so high.” The lawyers, on the other hand, sin on the other tact, by looking at what law is, not what it ought to be. “The wisdom of a lawmaker consisteth not only in a platform of justice, but in the application thereof; taking into consideration by what means laws may be made certain, and what are the causes and remedies of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of law; by what means may be made apt and easy to be executed, and what are the impediments and remedies in the execution of them.”

The great value of general learning and philosophy, in legislative matters, is very emphatically insisted on by Bacon. He remarks that, “For matter of policy and government, that learning should rather hurt than enable thereunto, is a thing very improbable. We see it is accounted an error to commit a natural body to empiric physicians, which commonly have a few pleasing recipes whereunto they are confident and adventurous; but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexions of patients, nor peril of accidents, nor the true method of cure. We see it a like error to rely upon advocates or lawyers, which are only men of practice, and not grounded in their books; so, by

* Essays.

like reason, it cannot be but a matter of doubtful consequence, if states be managed by empiric statesmen, not well mingled with men grounded in learning*."

Bacon's description of government is singularly characteristic of his genius and method of treating abstract subjects. "In Orpheus's theatre, all beasts and birds assembled; and, forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening unto the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge: which, as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition or tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."

SIR WALTER RALEIGH is the author of two political works "Maxims of State," and "Prerogative of Parliaments," 1602. The latter treatise was not published till after his death. Sir Walter's idea of the nature of monarchy in general, and of the monarchy of England in particular, has often been a subject of remark, among politicians and historians. This idea was that the power of princes was absolute, and that the liberty of the legislative body was only apparent and derivative. In his "Maxims," Sir Walter says, "Monarchies are of two sorts, touching their power or authority; namely, 1st,—Entire, where the whole power of ordering all

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state matters, both in peace and war, doth by law and custom, appertain to the prince, as in the English kingdom ; where the prince hath the power to make laws, league, and war ; to create magistrates ; to pardon life ; of appeal, &c. Though, to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making laws, *yet ever subject to the prince's pleasure and negative will.* 2nd,—Limited or restrained, that hath no full power in all the points and matters of state, as the military king that hath not the sovereignty in time of peace, as the making of laws, &c. ; but in war only, as the Polonian king." Then a little further on the author observes, "In every just state, some part of the government is, or ought to be, imparted to the people, as in a kingdom, a voice and suffrage in making laws ; and sometimes also of levying of arms (if the charge be great, and the prince forced to borrow help of his subjects), the matter rightly may be propounded to a parliament, that the tax may *seem* to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations and some proceedings in judicial matters may, in part, be referred to them. The reason, lest, seeing themselves to be in no number nor reckoning, they mistake the state or government." The same theoretical notion of political power is unfolded by Raleigh in his "Prerogative of Parliaments." The form of dialogue is here adopted : *Counsellor*.—"That which is done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy council, is done by the king's absolute power." *Justice*.—"And by whose power is it done in parliament, but by the king's absolute power? Mistake it not, my lord ; the three estates do but advise as the privy council doth ; which

action of the king entrance it becomes the king's own and in the end, and the king's law in the other."

There is a kind of indefinite notions of regal and popular authority, and at the root of all the discussions of the times, and even the stock-in-trade of the greater part of the political writings of an argumentative and doctrinal stamp, which issued from the press at the commencement of the revolutionary movement.

In 1607, we have a political romance, in the vein of Sir Thomas More, called "*Mundus alter et Idem*," under the assumed authorship of Mercurius Britannicus, but in reality, from the pen of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter. In his political portraits and descriptions, he reverses the plan of Sir Thomas, by exhibiting the vices and imperfections of the natives of the country, and descending, in an invective tone, on the nature of their social habits and government.

The "*Terra Australis*" of Hall is divided into four principal territories: namely, *Crapulia* (the land of Independence); *Utopia* (of Termagants); *Moronia* (of Fools); and *Larcenia* (of Thieves). The author describes this country as being rich in all that administers to the bodily wants of its inhabitants. Birds resort there in immense flocks, and, after a short time, they become so fat they cannot get out of the way of the sportsman. Geese are generated from the fallen leaves of trees, and lambs grow out of the earth, and, fixed on a stalk, immediately begin to graze on the surrounding herbage. The fish on the coast, when a line is thrown into the sea, cling to it in thousands, and are brought on the beach. The whole country groans with eatables of all kinds, and none are permitted to be exported.

No one is allowed the privilege of citizenship unless he has contributed something to the pleasures of the table. Husbandmen and artificers, when they have attained a certain rotundity of paunch, are promoted to corporation or municipal honours, to which none, in the first instance, are admitted, except cooks, bakers, tavern-keepers, and the great and sage senators of the city. None of the latter class of citizens are chosen for their wisdom, but solely for the magnitude of their bellies; the greater their size, the higher is the civic dignity.

In matters of general education, the customs of these people are different from ours. Instead of libraries, they have public repositories of tankards, in which cups of every size are arranged. Instead of books, goblets and dishes—the smaller ones for the *Freshmen*, and the other for *adults*.

The inhabitants have a formal *code of laws*; here is a sample of some of them. Law 4.—Any person guilty of fasting for four hours, shall be compelled to eat a double dinner; 6th,—Any one convicted of high treason to be starved to death; those guilty of more venial crimes, to have their teeth drawn; 7th,—Any cook sending up meat to table not fit to eat, shall be put in the pillory. These people have no money, but carry on their trade by barter; thus, two sparrows are equal to one starling; two hens, one goose; two lambs, one calf; two goats, one cow.

The grand duke or king of the country is elected solely from his *eating* qualifications. When he is elected he addresses the people, by declaring himself the most determined enemy to fasting, abstinence, short-allowance, and leanness. The great oath of

office is then administered to him—that he will take care that no one fasts with impunity, nor any debauchee go unrequited. “And now,” says he, “by the holy greedy gut, be as merry and jolly as you can; may the successive potations from this goblet be auspicious, and may I always find you comfortably fuddled, and well crammed.” So saying, all the people, cry out, “Long live the king; may he long increase in size.” Forthwith the national insignia are delivered to him; a representation of an ostrich, devouring a piece of iron, with the inscription, “Digest and govern,” and a large carving-knife, and a little golden flask, with the words, “Use and Enjoy,” marked upon it. Over the portal of the Town’s House, is the following inscription:

“Hæc domus est, læta semper bonitate repleta;
 Hic pax—hic requies—hic gaudia semper honesta.”
 “This hall is dedicated to wassail sweet,
 Here peace—and bliss—and rest oblivious meet.”

The traveller makes his escape from this portion of the country, and gets to another where the females perform all the offices of men. The civil constitution of these people is a pure democracy—every one is desirous of governing—not willing to obey. Everything is regulated by public suffrage; all speak at once, and none pay any attention to what their neighbour says. They have a *perpetual parliament*, and what is voted to-day, may be repealed to-morrow.

In the province of *Codiccia* (the land of Avarice), there is a singular race of men, described as having faces like swine. They always walk with their faces downwards, lest anything worth picking up should

escape them; and their voice resembles grunting rather than speaking. This country seems inhabited by *old men*, the young men, if of an enterprising turn, betaking themselves to the forest of *Butinas*, (*Butinia*); if studious, to the school of *Bolsecium* (*cut-purse*). Mining, agriculture, and merchandise, are the only trades exercised; and the persons following them, like the ravenous wolf, or the starving fox, feed upon the earth. Some, indeed, exist by looking on their metallic treasures. They scarcely ever sleep, and worship only one god—"The God of Wealth."

A short time after the appearance of this work, it was imitated by another, entitled "The Discovery of a New World, or a description of the South Indes, hetherto Vnknowne;" by an English Mercury. This has an engraved title-page, representing Mercury standing on a globe; and on the left page is a small map of the lands of *Tenterbelly* and *Fooliana*; and on the right *Sheeland* and *Sheemingen*. The work is divided into four books. The first contains the discovery of the land of *Tenterbelly*, *Eat-allia*, and *Drink-allia*; the wars of the *Eat-alleans*; the laws of the land; the religion of the people. *Drink-allia* is the second province of *Tenterbelly*; and here the author treats of the social and political condition of the inhabitants, and the arts and military discipline of these *Drink-alls*. The second book is devoted to a description of *Sheelande* or *Womandocia*, and of its situation and resources. The third book describes the discovery of *Fooliana*, and its locality and populousness, and the condition, character, and dress of the natives. The fourth book contains the discovery of *Thee-wingen*, and a description of it, together with the condition of the *Robbers-walders*.

There was a sort of parody of this work appeared in 1609, entitled "**Parliamentary Rights: or the Land of Paradoxes in the Three-Islands.**" The only original portion of the work is that commencing from page 122, giving an account of the territories of the *Prince de Palmyre*.

ANDREWS, bishop of Winchester, was a writer employed by James I. to protect him from the pen of Cardinal Bellarmine who had attacked his majesty's work, "**Treatise of the Rights of Kings,**" under the signature of "**Matthew Tortus.**" Andrews had that peculiar quaint and pedantic method of handling everything, which agreed so well with James's mind and taste; and for this reason the bishop was selected to give a formal answer to the cardinal's attack. This was done in a treatise Andrews styled "**Tortura Torti,**" 1609, which pleased the king, and promoted the temporal advancement of the writer. Andrews wrote several other controversial tracts against both Bellarmine and Perron, which, though now little known, were in their day considered masterly things of their kind. Andrews was not of so slavish a turn of mind in his political capacity as several of his brethren of the cloth; on the contrary, his contemporaries give him the credit of being an upright and beneficent member of the episcopalian body. There is an anecdote told of his shrewdness and independent thinking. He, and Neale, bishop of Durham, were standing behind the king's chair, when James asked both bishops, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament." The bishop of Durham immediately replied, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." On hearing this,

his majesty turned towards Andrews, and said, "My lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the bishop, "I have no skill in parliamentary cases." The king said, "No puts-off, my lord; answer me presently." "Then, sir," rejoined Andrews, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." It is said that James was greatly amused by the answer.

JOHN MELTON's "Sixfolde Politician, together with a Sixfolde Precept of Policy," (1609), has excited some curiosity among certain classes of public writers interested in tracing the growth of political opinion and sentiment. The work has been attributed to John Milton's father, but upon no authentic evidence. There is likewise a poem, published in 1613, called "The Uncasing of Machivil's Instructions to his Sonne, with the Answer to the Same," the author of which is not known, but which, from its rarity, has of late years been much sought after by book collectors. It is interesting, from the political opinions it contains.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the public press was officially closed against the sect of the puritans; and, in consequence of this, a private press was purchased by the party, and carried about from one place to another. It was first set up at Moulsey, in Surrey, then at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, then at Norton, Coventry, Woolston, and Manchester; at which last place it was seized by the constituted authorities of the government.

CRACKANTHORP published, 1621, "The Defence of Constantine, with a Treatise on the Pope's Temporal Monarchy," in which there is a full collection of the testimonies of Romish writers against the temporal supremacy of the pope.

The struggle between James I. and his parliament, gave rise, in 1621, to the protestation of the commons, as to their powers and privileges as a legislative body. This important document is expressed in these words: "The Commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this protestation following:—That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the people of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England: and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realme, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceedings of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest, and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself), for or concerning, any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament business. And if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned for anything done or said in parliament, the same is to be shown to the king by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in parliament,

before the king give credence to any private information."

BARCLAY'S "Argenis; or, the Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis," translated 1623, is one of the early records of political romancing. The chapters which have a direct bearing on politics, are the fourth, about the troubles of state; the fourteenth, on the evils which have followed the injudicious flattery of princes by poets; and the eighteenth, touching tribute and imposition of kings upon their subjects. "Where there be bounds of taking and bestowing, that law prescribed by nature, pointed out to every family, their bounds, their right, their office; and then the hope of pleasing and gratifying one the other, confirmeth that mutual league between the king and the subject; for the subject will willingly supply the king's treasure with his own wealth, rather than the king should execute extremity of justice, rashly make war, conclude peace, or bestow public offices upon loose and undeserving persons; there shall be their rewards, by which they shall gratify the noble disposition of their prince, and shall also be thankful for favours received and deserved others. And the king, likewise, shall do nothing that may hurt his subjects by strict or strange customes, expecting nothing from them by harsh or rigorous dealing. These are the most religious bands which join the king and subject together, and protects the flourishing government from injury and insolvency."

Argenis is prefigured as the daughter and heiress of Meliander, King of Sicily, and the work describes the war carried on to obtain her hand by two rival lovers,

Lycegenes, a dissipated subject of Meliander, and Polarchus, Prince of Gaul.

It is generally considered that the work of Barclay's has a direct allusion to the political events which took place in France, in the war of the League; and that the hero Meliander is intended for Henry III.

It is requisite we should here, once for all, give a bird's-eye view of the question, legally considered, involved in what are called the "Test and Corporation Acts." These compromised the great principle of liberty of conscience, and stood in the way of a fair and equitable distribution of civil offices, power, and emoluments; and were, consequently, subjects of constant and acrimonious discussion among political writers. Some felt an interest in upholding, and others in bitterly inveighing against them. A few words as to how the question really stood, from the days of James I. till the year 1700, which closes this volume, will aid the general reader in comprehending more readily and fully, the scope and tenor of many of the political treatises subsequently treated of by British authors. This is one among hundreds of instances in the history of human progress, where the external measures of a government give rise to political discussions, and are instrumental in the development of abstract principles of polity, which would never have otherwise been thought of, but for the jolting interruption they give to the free exercise of the common faculties and desires of human nature. Legal barriers or obstacles to the currents of social movements are easily set up; but it requires years of unremitting intellectual labour and zeal to write them down, or render them obsolete.

The first *law*, requiring persons to receive the sacrament agreeably to the episcopal church, is that of the 3rd of James I. This was intended against papists, and against protestant dissenters, who up to this time, and for a considerable period afterwards, freely communed with their Anglican brethren. In fact, the old puritans dreaded an actual separation from the establishment; and in 1587, one of their rules had for its object to wipe off the imputation of separation, "*inasmuch as the brethren communicate with the church in word and in sacrament*, and in all other things except their corruptions." The nonconformists continued to frequent the episcopal communion-table, till the year 1645, when the presbyterian form of worship was established. After the Restoration, and even after the "Act of Uniformity," the presbyterian body, and other sects of christians, made no scruple to communicate with the episcopal church. In 1661, the "Corporation Act" was passed, by which it was enacted, that, "No person shall ever hereafter be placed, elected, or chosen, into any corporation, that shall not, within one year next after such election, have taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England." The "Act of Uniformity" soon followed, by which two thousand ministers of the presbyterian church had, by the severity of its tests, to vacate their livings.

The parliament entertained, after the Restoration, a deep-rooted hatred to the catholic religion. Charles II. in order to ingratiate himself with the general mass of dissenters, issued a proclamation, suspending, by his own dispensing power, all the penal laws against dissent, and granted to the nonconformists the privilege

of building places of worship for themselves; and to the papists liberty to exercise their own religious rites in their own houses. When the king opened the session, however, he found the House not very tractable on the question: and when he called for money, the parliament not only proceeded to exclude catholics from all places of public trust in the kingdom, but in passing the "Bill of Supplies" for the year, the House tacked to the end of it, the famous "Test Act," and by this contrivance it became law.

This "Test Act" provided that "*every person who shall take any office, civil or military, or shall receive any salary, pay, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent of his majesty, or shall be admitted into the family of his majesty, shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Church of England, within three months after their admittance into the said office. Any person convicted of offending against this act is disabled from ever after suing in any court—from becoming guardian, executor, or administrator—from profiting by any legacy or deed of gift, or from bearing any office within England or Wales: and, in addition to these disabilities, is to forfeit five hundred pounds.*" Non-commissioned officers in the navy, petty constables, overseers of the poor, and some other smaller offices of a civil character, were exempted from the operations of the bill. Its preamble states that it was passed for preventing any dangers which might result from *popish recusants*.

At the Revolution of 1688, King William was anxious to effect a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. In his address to the parliament in 1689, he says, "I hope you are sensible there is a necessity of

some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend it to your care, to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not but that you will leave room for the admission of protestants that are able and willing to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and strengthening you against your common adversaries." The question, however, made no progress in his majesty's reign.

Charles I. ascended the throne in 1625. This was a most eventful reign in the history of the political literature of Britain, and indeed of the whole world. Here commenced, what had long been brewing in the mind of the nation, that bloody and severe struggle between the prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

The first fruits of this struggle was the "Petition of Right," 1628, which is thus worded by the petitioners: "We humbly shewe unto our sovereign Lord the King, the Lord Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of king Edward I. commonly called "Statutum de tallagio non concedendo," that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: And, by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his

will, because such loans are against reason, and the franchise of the land : And, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge : By which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

“ II. Yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued ; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places ; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted : And divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several countries by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

“ III. And whereas also, by the statute called “ The great charter of the liberties of England,” it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his

free customs, or to be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

“IV. And, in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

“V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty’s writs of *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty’s special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

“VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

“VII. And whereas also, by the authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of

king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man shall be fore-judged of life or limb against the form of the *Great Charta* and law of the land: And by the said *Great Charta*, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: And whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; Nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

“VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the land, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

“IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this

your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forbore to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: Which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

“X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament: And that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: And that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: And that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that people may not be so burthened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: And that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty’s subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

“XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: And that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice

of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: And that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom."

WILLIAM PRYNNE, born in 1600, was another redoubtable champion for popular rights during the revolutionary crisis in England. He attended, in early life, the lectures of Dr. Preston, a learned and zealous puritan, and soon imbibed the leading principles of this political and religious party. Prynne commenced author in 1627, by attacking the leading principles of popery and Arminianism; a few years after, he wrote in opposition to theatrical exhibitions; and in this performance, entitled, "Histro-Mastix," he was accused of levelling some sarcasms at the queen, and a prosecution of the Star-Chamber was the consequence. Poor Prynne suffered severely. He was fined the sum of £5000, to be expelled the University of Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded from his profession as a lawyer, to stand twice in the pillory, losing an ear each time, and to remain a prisoner for life. All this was dealt out to him in full measure, at the instigation, it is said, of Laud, who had smarted under the attacks of Prynne on episcopacy. He suffered with great constancy and resolution; and, even in prison, continued writing against prelacy, with all the ardour and bitterness imaginable. For one of these prison effusions, called "News from Ipswich," he was sen-

tenced again, by the same court, to pay a fine of £5000, and to be branded in each cheek with the letters S.L., (Seditious Libeller). This savage sentence was executed, and he was removed for safe custody to Caernarvon Castle, and afterwards to the Island of Jersey. He was not, however, to be daunted, even by these unprincipled punishments, for he continued still to wage war by his pen with his enemies and tormentors. When the parliament met in 1640, he was chosen representative for Newport, in Cornwall; his release was immediately granted, and he entered London in triumphal procession, demanding from the Commons full compensation for his sufferings and losses. His political writings are very numerous, and display great vigour and acuteness, and an ardent love of freedom.

FATHER ALEXANDER BAILLIE.—“True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, Progress, and Impoisoned Fruits of our Scottish Calvinian Gospel and Gospelers,” 1628.—This is a work written against the Scottish Reformers, and embraces matter worthy of attention. It contains a bitter lamentation over the demolition of the religious houses and churches in Scotland.

NATHANIEL CARPENTER, dean in the Episcopal Church of Ireland, published in 1628, his “Ahithophel; or, the Picture of a Wicked Politician.”


In 1630, SIR DUDLEY DIGGS wrote his “Discourse concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Subject.” The “Patriarcha, non Monarcha,” under the signature of P.N.M. was printed in 1634.

JOHN SELDEN’s “Mare Clausum” appeared in 1635. This work is written with a view of showing, that it

is a cardinal point in the general policy of England to maintain the supremacy of the seas. The treatise was written in opposition to the work of Grotius, called "*Mare Liberum*," published a short time before. Selden gained great reputation in his day, by this profound and ably reasoned work. In 1640, he published his "*De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum*," the object of which is to trace the opinions of the Hebrews on the nature and application of those general rules or maxims of justice, which we call the law of nations.

Selden had for his aim, the reconciling the opinions of the High Church party with those of the general body of dissenters; a really sound and healthy policy was made up of divers opposite principles, none of which, singly, could be fully carried out to its ultimate results. Christianity was the basis of every scheme of polity; and its main features were those of unity, and a rational compromise of violent extremes. Everything should be done reasonably and considerately; "Union," says he, "is strength, and division is weakness."

He seems to have adopted the opinion of Filmer, that the patriarchal power was the greatest and earliest manifestations of political science known among mankind, and the foundation of all subsequent forms of social governments. "The patriarchal authority," says Selden, "which existed in Adam, Seth, Noah, Melchisedeck, Abraham, and other chief princes of that period, was extended to the judges and prefects, for they united the ecclesiastical and political power. Thus the authority of Moses was twofold; in one respect sacerdotal; in another, royal, and absolute in public dominion. Thus, under the theory of a pontifical



sovereign, or sacerdotal prince, he executed sacred and civil functions, as was the case with the patriarchal pontiffs, who succeeded in the line of primogeniture. It is, therefore, acknowledged that Moses was priest and king, and such pontifical emperors were the judges or prefects that succeeded him."

On the kingly and sacerdotal prerogatives, he favours the doctrine of divine right. "Many things," says he, "relating to the supreme authority, the royal primacy, and the power of the pope and king, occur in the books against Bellarmin, Tortus, Beccanus, and Suarez, in the reign of James, and some written by himself, in which is powerfully discussed the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and excommunication by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom of Britain, exercised according to the regulations of the king, and the royal law, and no otherwise. This power of the keys and the right of excommunication, they attribute to the king alone, as the sovereign ruler and governor, as the laws of this realm, as the courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction acknowledge,—all which is expressly asserted by that admirable, learned, and exemplary divine, Bishop Andrews, in his answer to Bellarmin*." Again, "as the supremacy of princes and their governments is delegate from the highest, their judgments being only his, so in a general sense they are entitled gods, even by God himself, because here on earth they should, for their power, be his imitators; and therefore they may, in this sense, be entitled divine and sacred."

He does not, however, abide very consistently by these maxims, for we find him laying down the nature

* De Synedris.

of the kingly office upon as broad and popular a foundation as Locke himself would have done. "A king," says Selden, "is a thing men make for their own sakes—for greatness' sake. They grant him certain high privileges and powers; but it is upon *condition* that he should guard their liberties and administer their laws. The moment he neglects either, he has broken the condition, and his privileges are forfeited. *Ipso facto*, he is reduced to the liabilities of a subject. It matters little whether such a delinquent's crimes appear in the form of murder, rape, or general tyranny. He has disregarded the purpose for which he was raised to the throne, and no reason, either technical or moral, can convince the understanding that he has not degraded himself, or is not justly brought within the power of the law he has despised."

JOHN LILBURNE.—This was one of the most remarkable personages who figured among the republican party of the times. He was brought up to be a clothier in the city of London, but his early enthusiasm having been raised to a high pitch by a perusal of the "Book of Martyrs," he rushed at once into the arena of politics, in search of glory and renown. He was employed by the famous Dr. Bastwick, then suffering from Star-Chamber prosecution, to get anti-episcopal pamphlets printed in Holland. This he accomplished with great secrecy and effect. Soon after his return, he commenced writer himself, and adopted the same surreptitious mode of publication, but being betrayed by an accomplice, he was, himself, brought under the cognizance of the Star-Chamber, and doomed to receive *five hundred* lashes, and to stand in the pillory. This sentence was carried into effect in April, 1638. His

demeanour before the tribunal was so resolute and determined, that he refused to answer all interrogatories, except by declaring that he stood there to demand the *privileges of an Englishman*. This conduct obtained for him the appellation of "Free-born John." When in the pillory, he poured forth invectives against his persecutors, and threw political pamphlets from his pockets among the crowd. He was sent back to prison, and heavy irons placed on him; but even in this depressed condition, he contrived to get another political missile thrown at his tormentors. On the assembling of the long parliament, the sentence upon Lilburne was pronounced to be barbarous and illegal, and that reparation should be awarded him for his sufferings and losses. He then entered the republican army as a volunteer, and displayed great courage and gallantry at the battle of Marston-moor. Feeling dissatisfied with the political movements and measures of Fairfax and Cromwell, he threw aside the sword and took up his pen, and forthwith published some bitter invectives against the leading men of his own party. He was committed to Newgate for contempt; but even here he still contrived to publish his tracts in rapid succession, hurling defiance even to Cromwell and Ireton, against both of whom he preferred a charge of high treason. This brought him again before the courts, and he was tried for sedition and scandalous practices; but so popular had he become, that the House of Commons thought it the more prudent course to discharge him, and give him compensation for his sufferings. On the death of Charles, he drew up, himself, a new constitution, and one of the prominent features of it was, the rights of the people against the

army. Of the military spirit, Lilburne entertained a deep-seated jealousy; so much so, indeed, that he would scarcely allow the slightest manifestation of it, in the civil affairs of the commonwealth. It was this intense hatred of the soldier's rule that inflamed the hatred of Cromwell, who both feared and dreaded him. And so dangerous did he appear in the eyes of the protector and his council, that Lilburne was again committed for high treason, but having the good fortune to be tried before a special committee, he was acquitted. This inspired the accused with fresh ardour, and he again began to lash the parliamentary leaders in his political squibs to such an extent, as drew upon him the vengeance of this body, and he was heavily fined, and ordered to quit the kingdom forthwith. He retired to Holland, and remained there till the parliament was dissolved. But venturing back again, without being able to procure a passport, he was apprehended, tried at the Old Bailey, when, after an able self-defence, he was again acquitted. He was, however, ordered to leave the country, but giving good bail for his future conduct, he was allowed to remain. He became quaker, and preacher, and died at the early age of thirty-nine.

His writings are very numerous, and many of them are exceedingly amusing. They display great energy and acuteness, though their general character is that of rudeness and vulgarity. He had a general plan of his own, neither, however, very comprehensive or well defined, of a system of civil government, to which he was enthusiastically attached; and this was ever uppermost in his mind, and everything like compromise was repugnant to his ardent and uncontrollable temper.

But that he was strictly honest and sincere in the prosecution of his own views, his bold and indomitable conduct is a sufficient attestation.

SIR JOHN BIRKENHEAD published a journal at Oxford, about 1640, called "*Mercurius Aulius*," in favour of the cavalier party of politicians. Being expelled from this city by the parliamentarians, he went to London, and wrote a multitude of pasquinades against the enemies of the royal cause; for which he was several times imprisoned. At the restoration, he was rewarded by being made Master of Requests.

JOHN SADLER wrote a work, in 1649, called the "*Rights of the Kingdom; or, Customs of our Ancestors*," which was a great favourite with Oliver Cromwell, who patronised the author. The same writer published "*Albia; or, the new Island lately Discovered*," a political romance, of rather an interesting description.

PETER HEYLIN.—This writer was a well-known personage during the civil wars. He advocated the principles of Charles I. with great zeal and acrimony. He was the author of a number of political tracts, which will be found among his miscellaneous works, printed in folio, 1682. He likewise established a weekly paper, in behalf of the king's cause, which was published at Oxford.

MARCHANT NEEDHAM was another of the stirring and zealous political pamphleteers of the civil wars. He was born near Oxford in 1620. He commenced a paper against the cause of Charles I., entitled "*Mercurius Britannicus*," in which he promulgated the liberal doctrines of the reformers without qualification or compromise. But after the battle of Naseby, he took a sudden turn, and published a paper called

"*Mercurius Pragmaticus*," in which he libelled without mercy, all his former friends and supporters. When the parliamentary party were again on the ascendant, they sent him to prison; but not feeling comfortable here, he turned a third time, and in his "*Mercurius Politicus*," unsaid everything he had said before. This sunk him very low, and he was advised by his few friends, to leave the country, which he did; but on obtaining his pardon he returned again, and died in 1678.

A well-known writer on English literature remarks that "Marchant Needham, the great patriarch of newspaper writers, was a man of versatile talents and more versatile politics, a bold adventurer, and most successful, because the most profligate of his tribe. From college he came to London; was an usher in Merchant Taylor's School; then an under-clerk in Gray's Inn; at length studied physic and practised chemistry; and, finally, he was a captain, and in the words of honest Anthony Wood, 'siding with the rout and scum of the people, he made them weekly sport by railing at all that was noble in his intelligence, called '*Mercurius Britannicus*,' wherein his endeavours were to sacrifice the fame of some lord, or any person of quality, and of the king himself, to the beast with many heads.' He soon became popular, and was known under the name of Captain Needham of Gray's Inn; and whatever he now wrote was deemed oracular. But whether from a slight imprisonment for aspersing Charles I., or some pique with his own party, he requested an audience on his knees with the king, reconciled himself to his majesty, and showed himself a violent royalist in his '*Mercurius Pragmaticus*,' and galled the Presbyte-

rians with his wit and quips. Some time after, when the popular party prevailed, he was still further enlightened, and was got over by President Bradshaw as easily as by Charles I. Our mercurial writer became once more a virulent presbyterian, and lashed the royalists outrageously in his 'Mercurius Politicus : ' at length, on the return of Charles II., being now conscious, says our friend Antony, that he might be in danger of the halter, once more he is said to have fled into Holland, waiting for an act of oblivion. For money given to a hungry courtier, Needham obtained his pardon under the great seal. He latterly practised as a physician among his party, but lived universally hated by the royalists, and now only committed harmless treasons with the College of Physicians, on whom he poured all that gall and vinegar which the government had suppressed from flowing through its natural channel*."

Charles being now, 1648, brought to the block, for his alleged violations of the rights of the people and the parliament, the *Commonwealth* commenced, under the direction of Oliver Cromwell and his army.

It is acknowledged by most writers on public affairs, that this revolutionary period, was a very critical one for the liberties of the nation. Public opinion on some of the fundamental principles of legislation had arrived at that point, which called for some firm and absolute decision respecting them. Religious feeling and sentiment were the active elements which raised the nation to a sense of its duty and political interests. The independent, the presbyterian, and the puritanical principles of civil and religious liberty, were held in

* Disraeli.

abeyance during the reign of Elizabeth; but became more prominently active and vigorous, in the reign of her successor, James I. During the sway of the unfortunate Charles I., and till he fell by the hand of the executioner, the great body of the English nation never once relaxed their efforts in the cause of popular right, and religious toleration. Cromwell, himself, says, that whatever might be the efficient and proximate causes of the commencement of the civil war, yet God soon brought it to a religious issue; and he constantly affirms, that amidst the contentions, and dangers, and sacrifices of war, the reward which he and his followers always had before them, was the freedom of worshipping God according to their conscience.

SECTION III.

From the death of Charles I. to the year 1700.

IN the reign of Charles I., and during the Commonwealth, and even for a considerable time afterwards, it must be kept in remembrance, that there were floating in the public mind five distinct systems of church government; namely, Popery, Diocesan Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Independency, and Erastianism. Each of these ecclesiastical forms sought to mould or modify civil liberty and political right in some fashion or other; and hence the writers of each system naturally adopted that particular political theory which was more or less in harmony with their respective views of church policy.

The execution of the king was, of itself, one of the most important political events the world ever witnessed. It imparted to the public mind of Europe new views of the ends or purposes of governments, and of the reciprocal duties of citizenship which spring out of, and sustain them. There can be little doubt, but that the writings which had previously appeared in England, and even on the continent, relative to the lawfulness and expediency of punishing royalty, when neglectful of its sacred and weighty obligations, had made a deep impression on the minds of the speculative politicians of the day, of all shades of party and opinion. The old ideas of irresponsible power had been greatly weakened by the repeated and eager discussions of various theories and schemes of general polity. The treatises on the subject had been numerous even in our own country ; and the more scientific part of them had so clearly and forcibly developed the abstract nature of monarchical rule, that men, for the first time in their history, saw the justice, as well as necessity, of putting some limitation to royal prerogatives and privileges. Regal punishment, which appeared, at first, a daring and impious doctrine, soon became the current train of public thought, and the every day conversation of the multitude. Whether Charles fully merited to be selected as the first example of national vengeance, is not the proper view of the matter. It was the principle embodied in the people's right and power to bring to trial and pronounce judgment, that constituted the vital question at issue. Whether his death was justifiable or not, judged by the number and enormity of his own delinquencies, certain it is, that the event gave birth, shortly

after his execution, to the most elaborate development of political doctrines. The discussions on the justice and policy of his end, gave rise to treatises on the nature of general government, and social institutions, of inestimable value and importance.

DR. GAUDEN, was the person who published, in 1648, "Eikon Basilike; or, the Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings." It is now generally understood that Gauden wrote a great part of this work*. It contains a defence of the king, which, in many parts, is very touching and affecting.

The lines written by Charles, when confined in Carisbrook Castle, are interesting. They are in the form of an address to the Deity. The verses, descriptive of the political questions at issue between himself and his people, are here transcribed.

" Nature and law, by thy divine decree,
The only root of righteous royaltie,
With this dim diadem invested me.

" With it, the sacred sceptre, purple robe,
The body unction, and the royal globe ;
Yet I am levell'd with the life of Job.

" The fiercest furies, that do daily tread
Upon my grief, my grey discrowned head,
Are those that owe my bounty for their bread.

" They raise a war, and christen it *the cause*,
While sacrilegious hands have best applause,
Plunder and murder are the kingdom's laws.

" Tyranny bears the title of taxation,
Revenge and robbery, are reformation,
Oppression gains the name of sequestration.

* See on this subject, Nichol's *Lit. Anecdotes*, and Lang's *Scotland*; also, "Who wrote *Eikon Basilike*?" by Dr. Wordsworth. London, 1824.

- “ My loyal subjects, who, in this bad season,
Attend me, (by the laws of God and reason,)
They dare impeach, and punish for high treason.
- “ Next at the clergy do their furies frown,
Pious episcopacy must go down,
They will destroy the crosier and the crown.
- “ Churchmen are chain'd, and schismatics are freed,
Mechanicks preach, and holy fathers bleed,
The crown is crucified with the creed.
- “ The church of England doth all factions foster,
The pulpit is usurpt by each imposter,
Extempore excludes the *Pater-noster*.
- “ The Presbyter and Independent seed
Springs with broad blades. To make religion bleed,
Herod and Pontius Pilate are agreed.”

ARCHBISHOP USHER wrote in defence of Charles I., “The power of the Prince, and the Obedience of the Subject,” a work of some little note in its day.

JOHN MILTON was one of the chief leaders of the puritan writers, and a complete host in himself. His first political writings relate to church government. Up to his thirty-eighth year, he had published five distinct tracts on this subject. They roused the ire of many of the established clergy. In 1644 he published his speech on the liberty of the press, under the title of “Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.” This was a spirited and argumentative defence of this great bulwark of the freedom and happiness of nations.

After the trial and execution of Charles I., he entered into a defence of this measure, in a tract, called “The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.” Here he lays down the right of citizens to put “a tyrant or

wicked king," to death, on due conviction, "by any who possess the power," should the ordinary magisterial authority be insufficient for the purpose. The work is not a general plea for regicide, nor an attack on the late king, but it simply lays down the principle, that when rulers are insensible to the miseries of the people, and unblushingly tyrannise over them in every possible way, that resistance becomes then a duty, and punishment justifiable. Milton defends himself from the charge of making a general onslaught on the office of monarchy; and remarks in his "Second Defence of the People of England," in reference to the favourable reception which Christiana, Queen of Sweden, gave to his first "Defence," "That when the critical emergencies of my country demanded that I should undertake the arduous and invidious task of impugning the rights of kings, I should meet with so illustrious, so truly a royal evidence to my integrity, and to this truth, that *I had not written a word against kings, but only against tyrants, the spots and pests of royalty.*" This "Tenure of Kings," has been considered one of the most ably reasoned of Milton's political works, particularly from his having placed the great principles of constitutional law, treated of by previous writers, in so clear and convincing a point of view. Mr. Phillips tells us, "This treatise, reviving the fame of other things Milton had formerly published, he was more and more taken notice of for his excellency of style, and depth of judgment; and courted into the service of the commonwealth."

In 1649, Milton, at the request of the council of state, wrote his "Iconoclastes," in answer to the "Eikon Basilike," of Charles I. Milton tells us, that

his object in writing this answer to the royal defence was, "not a desire to descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity; nor, by the fond ambition, or the vanity to get a name, present or with posterity, by writing against a king; but for their sakes, who, through custom, simplicity, or want of better teaching, have not more seriously considered kings than in the gaudy name of majesty, and admire them and their doings, as if they breathed not the same air with other mortal men." This work led Milton into a controversy with Salmasius, who, in defence of Charles I., wrote his "*Defensio Regia*." Milton's reply to this, was his "*Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*," which made its appearance in 1651. This reply extended the reputation of the poet beyond the limits of his own country; for many distinguished men in foreign courts complimented him on his learned and unanswerable statements and arguments. The work was translated into Dutch, and likewise French; but the learned doctors of the Sorbonne caused it to be burnt, first at Paris, and then at Toulouse. Christina of Sweden, admired this "Defence" so much, that it has been said, that she dismissed with indignity, the author's opponent, Salmasius, from her court. But this work of the great poet's is, unquestionably, disfigured by great blemishes. It is tedious and prolix; it often wanders from the grand question at issue; his attempts at wit are often miserable failures; and there is no small portion of indelicate and coarse vituperation strewed up and down the performance, unworthy of his reputation and character. Still, with all these, and many other drawbacks, we find a rich vein of learning and sound reasoning; and the main

principles of his theory of what a just and equitable government should be, are clearly and forcibly developed.

In 1659, Milton published his "Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes," and his "Considerations touching the best Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church." Shortly after, when General Monk held the supreme power of the state in his hands, by virtue of the army, Milton addressed a tract to him, entitled, "Brief Declaration of a Free Commonwealth Easy to be put in Practice, without Delay ;" and this was soon followed by another, called a "Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth ;" in both of which publications he pleads for a republic in preference to a monarchy. His counsel, however, was not heeded. The Restoration came, and Milton retired into a place of concealment, there to meditate on, and bring to perfection, that production of his lofty muse, which has rendered his name immortal.

Amongst the collection of proclamations now in Chetham's Library, is one (No. 557), a black letter broadside of the year 1660, commanding the calling-in and suppression of two works by the author of "Paradise Lost," and a third book by a less eminent writer. This state paper runs thus :

"A proclamation for calling in and suppressing of two books written by John Milton ; the one intituled, 'Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam ;' and the other in answer to a book intituled, 'The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings ;' and also a third book in-

intituled 'The Obstructors of Justice,' written by John Goodwin, 1660."

"By the king.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"For calling in, &c. }
"Charles R. }

"Whereas John Milton, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, hath published in print two several books, the one intituled 'Johannis Miltoni Angli, pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii Defensionem Regiam;' and the other in answer to a book intituled 'The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings;' in both of which are contained sundry treasonable passages against us and our government, and most impious endeavours to justifie the horrid and unmatched murder of our late dear father of glorious memory.

"And whereas John Goodwin, late of Coleman-street, London, clerk, hath also published in print a book intituled 'The Obstructors of Justice,' written in defence of the traiterous sentence against his said late majesty. And whereas the said John Milton, and John Goodwin are both fled, or so obscure themselves that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to regal tryal, and deservedly receive condigne punishment for their treasons and offences.

"Now to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgments with such wicked and traiterous principles as are dispersed and scattered throughout the before-mentioned books, we, upon the motion of the commons in parliament now assembled,

do hereby streightly charge and command all and every person and persons whatsoever, who live in any city, burrough, or town incorporate within this our kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in whose hands any of those books are, or hereafter shall be, that they, upon pain of our high displeasure and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this our command, or within ten dayes immediately following, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the mayor, bayliffs, or other chief officer or magistrate, in any of the said cities, burroughs, or towns incorporate, then to the next justice of peace adjoining to his or their dwelling or place of abode; or if living in either of our universities, then to the vice-chancellor of that university where he or they do reside.

“ And in default of such voluntary delivery which we do expect in observance of our said command, that then and after the time before limited expired, the said chief magistrates of all and every the said cities, burroughs, or towns incorporate, the justices of peace in their several counties, and the vice-chancellors of our said universities respectively, are hereby commanded to seize and take all and every the books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession soever they shall be found, and certifie the names of the offenders unto our privy council.

“ And we do hereby also give special charge and command to the said chief magistrates, justices of the peace, and vice-chancellors respectively, that they cause the said books which shall be so brought into any of their hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid, by virtue of this our proclamation, to be delivered to the re-

spective sheriffs of those counties where they respectively live, the first and next assizes that shall after happen. And the said sheriffs are hereby also required in time of holding such assizes, to cause the same to be publicly burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

“And we do further streightly charge and command that no man hereafter presume to print, vend, sell, or disperse any of the aforesaid books, upon pain of our heavy displeasure, and of such further punishment, as for their presumption in that behalf, may any way be inflicted upon them by the laws of this realm.

“Given at our court at Whitehall, the thirteenth day of August, in the twelfth year of our reign, one thousand six hundred and sixty.—God save the King.

“London: printed by John Bill, printer to the King’s most Excellent Majesty. 1660*.”

Milton’s notions of religious establishments, may be found in his work, called, “Reasons of Church Government.” He thinks the bishops dangerous in a political point of view. “Indeed,” says he, “they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures, whose dignity, means, and preferments, have no foundation in the gospel, as they themselves acknowledge; but only in the prince’s favour; whence it must needs be, they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends to his; and if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies,) should come to grasp the sceptre, here were his spearmen and his lances; here were his firelocks ready;

* £10 has recently been given at public sales for an original copy of this Proclamation.

he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionary than those, if they could once, with their perfidious preachments, awe the people." Still more striking is the following denunciation of an episcopal hierarchy. "But they—that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distress and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life (which God grant them!), shall be thrown down eternally, into the darkest and deepest gulph of hell; where, under the despiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, who, in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and beastial tyranny over them, as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and down-trodden vassals of perdition*."

The following lines on the "Forcers of Conscience," are powerfully and indignantly expressed.

" Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
 And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,
 To seize the widow'd whore Plurality
 From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd;
 Dare ye for this abjure the civil sword
 To force our consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a classic hierarchy,
 Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rotherford?
 Men, whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
 Must now be named and printed heretics,
 By shallow Edwards and Scotch what d'ye call:
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
 Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent
 That so the Parliament

* Treatise on Reformation, vol. i. p. 274.

and his imagery so much overlaid by classical allusions, that even men of some reading in his own lifetime, could scarcely comprehend him on a first perusal. We find very little in his political speculations of what goes commonly under the denomination of theory. Of genuine philosophical talent and analysis he was remarkably deficient. But still there are passages in his writings on public affairs, so magnificent and powerful, that anything to compare with them cannot be found in any other writer, either before or since his day.

But that which is his highest praise as a political writer, is his real disinterestedness, and patriotic devotion to what he considered the truth, and the public weal. His own language on this point is noble and deeply affecting. "No one ever knew me either soliciting anything myself, or through the medium of my friends; no one ever beheld me in a supplicating posture at the doors of the senate, or the levees of the great. I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence. My hands were never soiled with the guilt of peculation; I never was even an obolus the richer by those exertions which you most vehemently traduce. I invoke the Almighty to witness, that I never at any time wrote anything which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice, and to piety. This was my persuasion then, and I find the same persuasion now. Nor was I ever prompted to such exertions by the influence of ambition, or the lust of lucre or of praise; it

was only by the conviction of duty, and the feeling of patriotism, a disinterested passion for the extension of civil and religious freedom*."

Milton seems to have entertained lofty and magnificent hopes of the future destinies of political science, and the future pleasures which await all those who honestly and intelligently promote its development and extension. "In that futurity," says he, "amid the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps may be heard, offering as high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate the divine mercies and marvelous judgments in this land, throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and scattering far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation, to be found the soberest, wisest, and most christian people at that day, when Thou, the Eternal, and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world; and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shall put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy, through heaven and earth. Then they, assuredly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive, above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones, into their glorious titles; and in super-eminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss in over-measure for ever."

* Second Defence, p. 238.

JOHN GOODWIN was a political writer in the civil wars, of great zeal, but of great coarseness, and virulence. He published, "Anti-Cavalierisme; or, Truth Pleading the Necessity, as the Lawfulness of this Present War, for the Suppressing that Butcherly Brood of Cavaliering Incendiaries," &c. "The Butcher's Blessing; or, the Bloody Intentions of Romish Cavaliers against the City of London;" "The Obstructors of Justice." This last work was inserted in the proclamation against Milton's works.

JOHN PHILLIPS, a nephew of Milton's, was an active political pamphleteer, of coarse mind and unsteady principles. He served all parties by turns; and even insulted the memory of his venerable uncle, within two years of his death. In 1697, he celebrated the accession of William to the throne, as *Augustus Britannicus*, in a poem "On the Peace of Ryswick." He died in 1704.

CLEMENT WALKER was another political author in these troubled times. He was of rigid presbyterian principles, and opposed the movements of the independent party, with all his energy and zeal. In 1648, he published his "History of Independency," which provoked Cromwell and his friends to the highest pitch of wrath and bitterness. Walker followed this up with another work called "Cromwell's Slaughter House," which ultimately caused him to be sent to prison, where he died in 1651.

HENRY CARY, Earl of Monmouth, published in 1646, "Political Discourses," which were considered in their day as able and spirited productions.

HIAM.—The proper name of this political writer is said to have been ABIEZER COPPE. He was a native

of Warwick, and post-master of Merton College, Oxford. He was violent and fanatical in the extreme, and, after the overthrow of the established Episcopal Church, gave himself up to the wildest excesses of the presbyterian party. He gave his political pamphlets singular names. One was published in 1648, in London, entitled, "Two or three Days before the Eternal God thundered at Great St. Helen's;" and another, dated 1650, he called "The Fiery Flying Roll." For this he was committed to Newgate, where he was detained for about a year; when, upon publishing a recantation, under the title of "The Wings of the Fiery Flying Roll Clipped; or, Coppe's Return to the Way of Truth," he was set at liberty.

The political tract called "Killing no Murder," attributed to Col. Titus*, was an influential production during the protectorate. It was what is called *well-timed*, and excited more attention than any other political effusion of the day. It was aimed at Cromwell, who, historians affirm, never regained his former flow of spirits after its appearance.

The work is dedicated to him, and the following is a quotation from the ironical preface: "To your highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot chuse but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider with how much benefit to the world you are likely to leave it. It is then only, my lord, the titles you usurp will be yours. You will then be, indeed, the deliverer of your country, and free it from bondage little inferior to that from which Moses delivered his†."

* A Col. Sexby is said to have been the real author of this work.

† See the collection of what is called the "King's Tracts," in the British Museum, which contains a vast number of political tracts, between the years 1640, and 1641.

The following passages are taken from this curious production, "All remedy therefore, against a tyrant is *Ehud's dagger*, without which all our laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that high court of justice where *Moses* brought the Egyptians, whither *Ehud* brought *Eglon*; *Samson*, the *Philistines*; *Samuel*, *Agag*, and *Jehoida*, the she-tyrant *Athaliah*." The writer then goes on in his pamphlet to illustrate this general position, as to the right and expediency of killing tyrants, by a reference to the scripture history of these persons mentioned. In another part of the tract is the following pointed passage as to the justice of taking Cromwell's life.

"Some I find of a strange opinion, that it were a generous and a noble action to kill his highness in the field; but to do it privately, they think it unlawful, but know not why; as if it were not generous to apprehend a thief till his sword were drawn, and he in a position to defend himself, and kill me. But these people do not consider, that whosoever is possessed of power, any time, will be sure to engage so many either in guilt, or profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out, by open force, will very much hazard the total ruin of the commonwealth. A tyrant is a devil, that tears the body in exorcising, and they are all of *Caligula's* temper, that if they could, they would have the whole frame of nature fall with them. It is an opinion that deserves no refutation, than the manifest absurdity of itself, that it should be lawful for me to destroy a tyrant with hazard, blood and confusion, but not without."

BISHOP SANCROFT, well-known as one of the seven bishops, committed to the Tower by James II. for

his conscientious attachment to the laws of his country, published in 1652, his "Modern Politics, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other Modern Authors, by an Eye-witness." This work is highly interesting and curious, when viewed in connection with the political feelings and sentiments of the times.

BAXTER wrote his "Holy Commonwealth," about 1650. He acted with the Cromwell party; but it was always understood that he was favourable to the monarchical form of government, guarded by sufficient securities. He was persecuted by the relentless judge Jeffreys; fined 500 marks, and confined eighteen months in prison.

At the restoration of Charles II., commencing in 1660, republican sentiments were again thrown comparatively into the shade. All classes seemed eager to adopt monarchical ideas and theories of government, and to give once more nearly an absolute license to royal authority. We now find the same class of political writings on the kingly prerogatives, which were so numerous in the reign of his father.

The controversy on the nature of ecclesiastical government, and of the modes and degrees in which it effected the civil rights and privileges of the people, was of such an intense and engrossing kind, that it has been computed that, within the twenty years, from 1640 till 1660, not less than *thirty thousand* pamphlets and treatises issued from the press on the subject*. And we find that in the reign of James II. there were published *one thousand* distinct dissertations for and against popery, and developing the general principles of toleration†.

* Macaulay.

† See Catalogue, by Francis Peck, London, 1735.

THOMAS HOBBS.—“*De Cive*,” 1642; “*De Corpore Politico*,” 1650; “*Leviathan*,” &c. Hobbes is one of the most distinguished political writers of the seventeenth century. According to his system, civil society is not a natural thing; for though men may have a certain feeling towards each other’s society, this does not prove that they are fit for it, nor that they will readily comply with its formal rules and regulations. Nature has not made a very great distinction among men as to bodily vigour and knowledge. There is, therefore, no ground for any superiority among them. But their passions and desires vary considerably; some are full of notions of pride and vain glory, and seek for distinction and power; and others, again, are content with equal rights and privileges. This creates contention; and, consequently, society is really in a state of warfare.

There must be a controlling power in the state to punish violent conduct among the members of a community; for, without this power, every man will rely on his own strength or skill. This power must be in the hands of one man; for, if conferred upon a multitude, it will prove abortive.

According to Hobbes, sovereign power can neither be limited nor divided; and there can only be three forms of a commonwealth; monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. He gives the preference to the first, chiefly on the ground that he conceives a king can have no interest apart from his people; whereas in aristocratic and democratic institutions, each individual may have some private advantage in view. The same disadvantages which are commonly alleged as resulting from the rapacity of monarchical rulers in

favour of their courtiers and flatterers, are equally conspicuous under every form of popular government.

Hobbes displayed less consistency in his reasonings on political topics, than on any other subject he attempted to discuss. One contradictory statement and opinion follows another, in rapid succession. Sometimes we find him on the democratic, and sometimes on the despotic side of civil right and authority. It is on this account, that none of his numerous enemies, and commentators, have been able, up to the present time, to give a concise and general summary of what his real opinions on general polity were.

“The political system of Hobbes,” says an able writer*, like his moral system, of which, in fact, it is only a portion, sears up the heart. It takes away the sense of wrong, that has consoled the wise and good in their dangers, the proud appeal of innocence under oppression, like that of Prometheus to the elements, uttered to the witnessing world, to coming ages, to the just ear of heaven. It confounds the principles of moral approbation, the notions of good and ill desert, in a servile idolatry of the monstrous leviathan it creates, and often sacrificing all right at the altar of power, denies to the omnipotent, the prerogative of dictating the laws of his own worship.”

GEORGE BATE was an English physician, and a political writer of note and reputation. His chief work on politics is “*Eleuchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia, simul ac juris Regii a Parlamentarii brevis Enarratio*,” 1660. This account of the late commotion in England, and the brief relation of royal and parliamentary prerogatives, is deemed one of the most able and

* Hallam.

“ That which the world miscals a jail,
 A private closet is to me ;
 Whilst a good conscience is my bail,
 And innocence my liberty ;
 Locks, bars, and solitude, together met,
 Make me no prisoner, but an anchorite.

“ I, whilst I wisht to be retir’d,
 Into this private room was turn’d ;
 As if their wisdoms had conspir’d,
 The Salamander should be burn’d ;
 Or like those sophists, that would drown a fish,
 I am constrain’d to suffer what I wish.

* * * * *

“ I am a bird, whom they combine
 Thus to deprive of liberty ;
 But though they do my corps confine
 Yet meagre hate, my soul is free ;
 And though immur’d, yet can I chirp and sing,
 Disgrace to rebels, glory to my king.

“ My soul is free as ambient air,
 Although my baser part’s immew’d,
 Whilst loyal thoughts do still repair
 T’ accompany my solitude :
 Although rebellion do my body binde,
 My king alone can captivate my mind.”

The first part of BUTLER’S “Hudibras” was published in 1663, and was made popular at court by the Earl of Dorset. The church-and-state politicians were in extacies with it, and quoted it on all occasions. As a piece of political ridicule and sarcasm, it is unrivalled even at this hour ; and the reason is, that though many of its allusions and points are scarcely recognisable, from a change of manners, yet the great leading outline of the poem is based upon principles of human nature, that are always manifesting themselves in the

public movements of mankind. Wit and humour, founded on such principles, are as racy at one time as another.

In Butler's posthumous works, in three volumes, there are several satirical effusions, both in prose and verse; but they are very much below the standard, in point of literary excellence, of his "*Hudibras*." The authenticity of many of the political papers ascribed to Butler has been recently called in question; and there certainly seems some good ground for the scepticism on their genuineness, from the low and rabid vulgarity which pervades the most of them.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was an active and redoubtable champion for popular rights at this time. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and had been chaplain to Lord Russel. During the reign of Charles II. he published a political work, called "*Julian the Apostate*," which was chiefly levelled at the character of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The author attempted to show, and with great learning, that the christians of the fourth century did not maintain the doctrine of non-resistance. He quoted several of the fathers to support his position; and even went so far as to say, that the dart which was thrown at Julian, came, undoubtedly, from some patriotic and zealous christian in the Roman army. These statements and opinions excited a lively controversy. But Johnson was not a man to be set aside by a trifle. He reiterated his arguments, and drew a parallel between Julian and James, then Duke of York, much after this fashion:—Julian pretended a deep-seated abhorrence of idolatry, while in heart he was an idolator; that the Roman emperor, to serve a present

purpose, often affected a degree of liberality of sentiment, which he inwardly despised; that Julian had punished various cities, by depriving them of their civil liberties, for adhering to the true religion; that Julian had been, by his courtly sycophants, called the Just; and that in all these particulars, and in many others, there was, undoubtedly, a public character in the British nation who bore a striking resemblance to this hated and hateful Roman emperor.

This work brought upon Johnson an immediate prosecution; and he was sentenced to imprisonment and fine. He lived within the rules of the King's Bench, not being able to pay his fine. But fresh troubles awaited him. When James II., who had always kept a steady eye on him, assembled his troops on Hounslow-heath, Johnson wrote another paper and distributed it widely among the soldiers, entitled, "An Humble and Hearty Address to all the English Protestants in the present Army." For this the author was committed to close confinement, condemned to stand in the pillory in three different localities, to pay a fine of five hundred marks, and to be publicly whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. When this sentence was pronounced, the judge congratulated the prisoner on the great lenity shown him by the attorney-general, who might have tried him for high treason. "I owe him no thanks," said Johnson. "Am I, whose only crime is that I have defended the church and the laws, to be grateful for being scourged like a dog, while popish scribblers are suffered daily to insult the church, and to violate the laws with impunity?"

Before the punishment of flogging was inflicted,

Johnson was deprived by the ecclesiastical commission of his gown. A whip of nine lashes was made, and three hundred and seventeen stripes inflicted; but he was never seen to wince under them when dragged at the tail of the cart. He tells us, himself, that in the midst of his suffering and degradation, he often remembered the cross which had been carried by the Saviour himself to Mount Calvary; and that this idea supported him so powerfully, that had it not been that he might have given an occasion to his enemies to charge him with vain glory, he would have sung a psalm to the Almighty with cheerfulness of heart, under the infliction of his unjust punishment.

When the Restoration came, Mr. Johnson wrote several tracts in favour of this great change, and the proceedings that had previously been taken against him, were reversed. He received as a compensation one thousand pounds, and three hundred per annum. His work, with his life, are published in a folio volume, 1713.

As a political writer, he was courageous, able, and sincere. He had an enlightened view of the nature of civil rights and privileges; and, above all things, seemed to have a deep-rooted jealousy against standing armies in times of peace. His several writings, even at the present date, will amply repay a perusal.

ANDREW MARVEL. — This distinguished political writer and satirist, has been called the "British Aristides." His personal character is so exalted and pure, that he has long been considered as one of the noblest specimens of incorruptible patriotism that England has ever produced.

His works are numerous both in prose and verse*. They all breathe the spirit of freedom, and likewise show that he was well versed in the general knowledge of governments; but they have not been so frequently read and appealed to by subsequent writers, as might have been expected, considering the singular piquancy of their style and matter, so well fitted for the every day skirmishing of political parties. But so it is; Marvel has been thrown comparatively into the background, notwithstanding the distinguished position he held as a political writer during one of the most eventful epochs of our history.

Marvel's principal poems on political subjects, are the following:—"Britannia and Raleigh;" "Advice to a Painter;" "Nostradamus's Prophecy;" "An Historical Poem;" "Hodge's Vision from the Monument;" "A Dialogue between two Horses;" "On the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen;" "On Blood's Stealing the Crown;" "Farther Instructions to a Painter;" "Oceana and Britannia;" "Royal Resolutions." Marvel published, a little before his death, "An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England," 1678. In this he lays down what are the principles of the British constitution, and shows that the glory of the monarch, and the happiness of the people, depend upon a strict observance of their respective duties and obligations. This work galled the court severely; and a proclamation appeared in the "Gazette," offering a reward of £50 for the discovery of the printer of it, and for the publisher, a reward of £100.

* Works by Capt. Thompson, 3 vols. 4to, 1786.

One of the best known *jeu d'esprit* of Marvel's, is his lines on "The Parliament House to Let."

" Here's a house to be let,
 For Charles B——d swore
 On Portsmouth's ——,
 He would shut up the door.
 " Inquire at the lodgings
 Next door to the Pope.
 At Duke Lauderdale's head,
 With a cravat of rope.
 " And there you will hear
 How next he will let it ;
 If you pay the old price,
 You will certainly get it.
 " He holds it in tail
 From his father, who fast
 Did keep it long shut,
 But paid for't at last."

It is stated by Mr. Dove, one of Marvel's biographers, that he had rendered himself so obnoxious to the court, that he was beset on all sides by his enemies, who even went the length of menacing his life. He was obliged to refrain from appearing much in public, and was often compelled to conceal the place of his abode. He died in 1678, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, not without strong suspicions of having fallen a victim to poison.

MASON, in his "Ode to Independence," says of Marvel,

" In awful poverty his honest muse,
 Walks forth vindictive through a venal land ;
 In vain *corruption* sheds her golden dews,
 In vain *oppression* lifts her iron hand ;
 He scorns them both, and arm'd with *truth* alone,
 Bids Lust and Folly tremble on the throne."

WILLIAM DENTON, a physician, took an active part in the revolutionary contest, as a political writer. He wrote a great number of works; among the chief of these are, "The Burnt Child dreads the Fire; or, an Examination of the Merits of the Papist relating to England," 1765. "Horæ Subsecivæ; or, a Treatise Showing the Original Grounds, Reasons, and Provocations, necessitating our Sanguinary Laws against Papists, made in the Days of Queen Elizabeth," 1666. "Jus Cæsaris et Ecclesiæ vere Dictæ," 1681. On the accession of William and Mary, Denton dedicated to the crown his "Jus Regiminis," which contained a justification of the necessity there was to make an appeal to arms for the maintenance of the people's rights.

"An Essay upon the Origin and Nature of Government," written in 1672, by SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, is a small dissertation on the subject mentioned in the above title; and is worthy of notice for the clearness and simplicity of his views. All political authority among men, arises, in the author's opinion, from the wisdom, goodness, and valour among certain portions of a community. Sir William enters briefly into the examination of several of the popular theories of the origin of government known in his day; but after subjecting them to an individual analysis, he is inclined to give the preference to the family or patriarchal scheme.

DR. SAMUEL PARKER, wrote his "Ecclesiastical Polity," 1670, in which he declares "It is better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of *Nero*, and *Caligula*, than to hazard the dissolution of the state." He likewise lays down the principle, "that it is ab-

solutely necessary to the peace and government of the world, that the supreme magistrate of every commonwealth should be vested with a power to govern, and conduct the *consciences* of subjects in affairs of religion, * * * Princes may, with less hazard, give liberty to men's *vices*, than to their *consciences*. * * * That to show tenderness and indulgence to sectarians, were to nourish vipers in our bowels, and the most sottish neglect of our own quiet and security."

This work called forth a spirit of retaliation. Dr. OWEN wrote his work in opposition to these illiberal and violent sentiments, called "Truth and Innocence Vindicated." Parker published a rejoinder, "A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Polity;" in which he calls Owen the "Great Bell-weather of Disturbance and Sedition. * * * * The *viper* is so swelled with venom, that it must either burst or split." Andrew Marvel entered into the controversy, and lashed Parker severely in his "Rehearsal Transposed;" in which the sturdy republican layman says, that "If he (Parker), chance but to sneeze, he prays that the *foundations of the earth* be not shaken. Ever since he crept up to be but the *weather-cock of a steple*, he trembles and creaks at every puff of wind that blows about him, as if the *Church of England* were falling."

DR. ROBERT SOUTH.—"The Peculiar Care and Concern of Providence for the Protection and Defence of *Kings*," 1675. This is the title of a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, and afterwards published by its author. The leading object of it is to show "That God, in the government of the world, exercises a peculiar and extraordinary providence over the persons and lives of princes," and for this, among many other

leading, moral, and political principles promulgated by Hobbes, in his several philosophical publications. The chief aim of the learned bishop is, to show that the notions of *right*, *justice*, and *law*, arise from the natural or intuitive suggestions of the human mind, and are not mere arbitrary or conventional terms. All mankind have the rudiments of justice and right imprinted, or stamped on their nature; and no framework of civilisation or legislative philosophy can be produced, that does not, in some modified, yet distinct and palpable manner, rest upon these rudimental axioms of human obligation and duty. This work of Bishop Cumberland's has long been, and is still, one enjoying a considerable share of reputation.

We have two works, about this time, which attempt to trace the origin of the representative system in England. The one is from the pen of Mr. Petyt, who published his "Rights of the Commons Asserted," 1680; and that of Dr. Brady's treatise "On Boroughs," 1683. The latter work is an answer to some of the chief statements of the former. To those who aspire to an accurate historical acquaintance with the rise of the House of Commons, and of minute matters of antiquarian learning connected with it, will find both these works of advantage.

BISHOP SANDERSON.—"Episcopacy, not prejudicial to Regal Power," 1683. This small work is written to the roman catholics, presbyterians, and independents, on the question as to the necessary connection between episcopacy as a system, and the rights of the sovereign. The author maintains that the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, as it is maintained by those called the prelatical party, is not an opinion so dangerous to

kings and states, as the opposite; but rather, of all forms of church government, it is the most simple and salutary for the happiness, and welfare of nations*.

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE.—“*Jus Regium*; or, the Right of Monarchy,” 1684. This author was a distinguished lawyer and advocate to Charles II. The above work was an official answer to the doctrines of Buchanan, Milton, and others, as to the rights and privileges of the royal power. Mackenzie endeavours to prove that a monarch has an absolute right in his kingdom:—1st, from the law of God, as mentioned and laid down in the scriptures; 2nd, from the law of nature, “which every man finds planted in his own heart,” and which is obeyed without any other law, and for which men neither seek nor can give another distinct reason; and 3rd, from the law of nations. Sir George argues the question throughout his short essay, as a lawyer, rather than a statesman and philosopher†.

JOHN TUTCHIN was a political writer of the revolutionary era. He attacked church and state in no measured terms; but he did this at his cost, for the notorious Judge Jeffreys sentenced him to be whipped through all the principal market-towns in the West of England. He petitioned the king to have this sentence commuted to hanging! He fortunately took ill in prison, and this led to his pardon. He commenced and carried on, for some time, “*The Observer*” paper, 1702. in which he wrote many able and spirited articles in favour of general freedom.

SIR JOHN HARRINGTON.—The “*Oceana*” created a considerable sensation among politicians on its first

* P. 44.

† Works, vol. ii, p. 474.

appearance. Several answers appeared ; among the number was Baxter's "Holy Commonwealth," which laboured hard to prove the fallacy of the general principles of the "Oceana," but without much success. Irrespective of the arguments on both sides, Harrington had the satisfaction of seeing the "Holy Commonwealth" burned, by a decree of the University of Oxford, along with some works of Hobbes and Milton. An abridgment of the "Oceana" was published by the author under the title of the "Art of Lawgiving." He every way enlarges on the benefits of a republican form of government, and of the advantages of the ballot.

The treatise opens with a well-written and profound exposition of the grounds and arguments for a republic ; and these grounds and arguments are, throughout the progress of the work, more minutely developed in detail. His leading maxim is this : dominion follows the balance of property ; that is, that the form of every government must be moulded in conformity with the mode in which property is distributed amongst all the members of the community. In pursuance of this idea, a sound and just agrarian law must be established before the republican form of government can be instituted. Without this preliminary measure is adopted, the political renovation of society cannot be secured ; and for this reason, says the author, "Because, as to property producing empire, it is required that it should have some certain root or foot-hold, which, except in land it cannot have ; being otherwise, as it were, upon the wing. Nevertheless, in such cities as subsist mostly by trade, and have little or no land, as Holland and Genoa, the balance of treasure may be equal to

that of land." This land must, however, be divided according to a given scale; and this the author calls the *agrarian* scale. Unless landed property be divided in some such way as the author points out, he maintains it is impossible that any government can exist for any length of time, whether its principles be monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical. He thinks the highest amount of property should be *two thousand pounds* per annum. His definition of a good government is, "One established upon an equal agrarian scale arising into the superstructure, or three orders—the senate debating and proposing; the people resolving; and the magistracy executing, by an equal rotation, through the suffrages of the people, *given by ballot*."

In the original folio edition of the "*Oceana*," there is a plate, representing the mode of taking the ballot practised in the government of Venice; a country, the legislation of which Harrington greatly admired. He says, "If I be worthy to give advice to a man that would study politics, let him understand Venice; he that understandeth Venice aright, shall go nearest to judge, notwithstanding the difference that there is in every policy, right of any government of the world*."

The "*Oceana*" had a somewhat ominous struggle for existence. Mr. Toland tells us the following story: After the death of Charles I., who had a high opinion of Harrington, the author was observed to keep his library more closely than usual. He was then engaged with the "*Oceana*." When he had made some considerable progress with the work, he made its nature known among some of his particular friends. This

* P. 292.

came to Cromwell's ears and he ordered the manuscript to be seized. Harrington endeavoured to recover it, but without success. In his despair he applied to Lady Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, to whom he was personally unknown, but of whose affability and benevolence of disposition, he had heard much. Being ushered into her ladyship's room, he only found a child three years' of age. He entertained the child so divertingly, that she suffered him to take her up in his arms, till her mother came; whereupon he, stepping towards her and setting the child down at her feet, said, "Madam, 'tis well you are come at this nick of time, or I had certainly stolen this pretty little lady." "Stolen her," replied the mother, "pray what to do with her? for she is too young to become your mistress." "Madam," said he, "though her charms assure of a more considerable conquest, yet I must confess it is not love, but revenge, that prompted me to commit this theft." "Lord," answered the lady, "what injury have I done you, that you should steal my child?" "None at all," replied Harrington, "but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me justice, by restoring my child that he has stolen." But the lady urged that it was impossible, because her father had children enough of his own. He then revealed to her, at last, that the child he had lost, was the fruit of his brain, which had been grossly misrepresented to the protector, and taken out of the press by his order. Harrington's wit prevailed, and the lady got the work restored to him. It is said that Cromwell afterwards read the treatise, which was dedicated to him, and he greatly admired it.

Harrington wrote several political tracts, but they

are not of any great importance. He was the founder of the "Rota Club," and frequently addressed its members on the advantages of a commonwealth, and of a system of voting by ballot. He was seized, and committed to the Tower in 1661, and, after a great deal of hardship, obtained his release through the interference of Lord Bath; but not till his health had suffered severely from his confinement. He died in 1677.

Richard Baxter's "Holy Commonwealth," was written against Harrington's book; but the high church party did not relish it, and it was committed to the flames, at Oxford, in 1683, along with the works of Milton and Hobbes.

Harrington's work, "The Art of Law-making," 1659, is divided into three books. 1st,—Showing the foundations of all kinds of government. 2nd,—Pointing out the forms and maxims of the Hebrew Commonwealth; and 3rd,—Furnishing a model for popular government. Harrington was the author of several other political works, besides these now mentioned.

Hume says, "Harrington's 'Occana' was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and, even in our own time, it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The style of the author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter which his work contains makes compensation."

ALGERNON SIDNEY.—"Discourses on Governments." This work has, ever since its first appearance, maintained a firm hold of the political feelings of the people of England. It was written as a formal answer to the "Patriarcha" of Sir Robert Filmer; and it enters very minutely, and what many readers of the

present day will think laboriously, into an examination of the principles of paternal authority, from which Sir Robert attempts to derive all kingly power and authority; but, independently of the object for which the book is written, the "Discourses" have great merit in themselves, as they abound with ingenious illustrations of political truths, and numerous and singularly apt quotations from ancient authorities. The personal opinions of the author are republican; but are greatly modified from the general current of republican ideas of the present day, by the aristocratic influence which Sidney mixes up with his theoretical system.

The author was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 7th December, 1683. His "Discourses" were first published by Mr. Foland, in 1698.

We must not forget here, that passage in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," which describes the proceedings against *Faithful*. The manner in which the witnesses give their evidence against him; the tyranny and insolence of the judge; the hatred and rancorous partiality of the jury; are all true representations of the sufferings of political writers under Charles II., who were inimical to the court and its measures. Bunyan makes Lord Hategood act as counsel for the prisoners.

Judge.—"Thou runagate, heretic, and traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?"

Faithful.—"May I speak a few words in my defence?"

Judge.—"Sirrah, sirrah! thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place,

yet, that all men may see our gentleness to thee, let us hear what thou, vile runagate, hast to say."

EDMUND BOHUN, wrote "A Defence of Charles' Second Declaration." The same author published likewise a defence of the doctrine of Sir Robert Filmer, against the observations of Algernon Sidney; and a work upon passive obedience.

There are few political controversialists in England, but have often heard of the severe and summary methods that were, in former days, adopted to bring writers on public matters before the criminal tribunals of the country. The famous Judge Jeffreys was a notable instrument in his day for these crusades against political writers. We shall here give the form of one of his *general warrants*, which were so long held in public execration.

Copy of one of Judge Jeffreys' general warrants, 1684.

"Whereas I am informed that there are divers ill-disposed persons who write, print, and publish, treasonable, popish, seditious, and scandalous books, pamphlets, and pictures, endeavouring thereby to disturb the minds of his majesty's subjects, and the peace of the kingdom.

"These are therefore in his majesty's name, to charge and command you, and every of you, upon sight hereof, to be aiding and assisting to Robert Stephens, his majesty's messenger for the press, in making diligent search in all suspected places, and to seize all such books, pamphlets, and pictures, as he shall be informed of, in any bookseller's, printer's, binder's shops or warehouses, or in any vessel or other place whatsoever, to the end they may be disposed of according to law.

Likewise, if you should be informed of the authors, printers, publishers, or any other persons, in whose custody you shall find such books, pamphlets or pictures, you are to apprehend, and bring them before me, or any of his majesty's justices of the court of King's Bench, or some other of his majesty's justices of the peace, to be proceeded against, according to law. Hereof fail not at your perils.

“GEORGE JEFFREYS.

“Anno Dom. September 1st, 1684.”

It is necessary to remark here that the great change effected at this date, 1688, in the constitution of England, or rather the formal recognition of all its old fundamental laws and principles of government, under somewhat novel circumstances, greatly influenced the current of subsequent political sentiment and speculation. One of the most prominent events of the time, was the public compact or declaration of rights. We find constant appeals to this agreement between the nation and its rulers, by succeeding political writers and theorists of all grades of opinion.

The “Declaration of Rights,” commenced with a recapitulation of the errors and short-comings, which had rendered a revolution necessary. The late king had made a direct attack upon the legislature; had treated the right of petition as a misdemeanour; had oppressed the church, by subjecting it to an illegal tribunal; had levied taxes and maintained a standing army without the sanction of parliament; had violated the freedom of election, and perverted the course of justice. Matters of which the Commons alone had the power to take cognizance of, were made subjects of

prosecution in the King's Bench. Corrupt and partial juries had been returned. Excessive bail had been demanded from prisoners; excessive fines were levied; the estates of persons had even been granted away before the owners of them had been convicted. The Prince of Orange, whom providence had raised up as an instrument for the delivery of the nation from tyranny and superstition, had invited the Estates of the realm to meet and to take counsel together for the effective security of religion, law, and public right. The Lords and Commons having deliberated, had resolved that they would first, after the example of their ancestors, assert the ancient rights, privileges, and liberties of England. Therefore it was declared, that the dispensing power, lately assumed and exercised, had no real or legal existence; that, without a specific grant from parliament, no money could be legally demanded of the subject; that, without consent of parliament, a standing army could not be kept up in time of peace. The right of subjects to send petitions to parliament; the right of electors to choose representatives without let or hindrance; the right of the parliament to perfect freedom of debate; the right of the nation to a pure and merciful administration of justice, according to the spirit of its own mild and ancient laws, were severally solemnly affirmed. All these various matters the convention claimed in the name, and in behalf of the whole nation, as the undoubted inheritance of Englishmen.

The political writings of ANDREW FLETCHER, of Saltoun, are not of any great value and importance. He entertained a great hatred and jealousy of England, and to this feeling we owe many of his written

papers on political topics, what betray, as a whole, an almost total absence of any high or elevated view of civil liberty. He was a bold and resolute, but, on the abstract principles of national polity, an ill-informed man. He died in 1716.

JOHN LOCKE.—“Treatise on Government.” The publication of Mr. Locke’s work on government, 1689, forms an important era in the history of political science; not only in England, but in every civilised and christian state. The celebrity of his name, as a metaphysician, doubtless reflected additional value upon his speculations on the nature of government; but, independent of this circumstance, his method of reasoning is so conclusive, and his judgment so profound and correct, that his lucubrations still keep a firm hold of the public mind, and promise to do so, as long as any sound notions on the abstract principles of the social contract, shall be retained among men.

The “Treatise on Government” is divided into two leading parts; the first contains the author’s refutation of the principles of Sir Robert Filmer’s “Patriarcha;” and the second, those principles of civil polity, which the author considered as the only sound and true ones, and which are necessary to all countries which can lay claim to any degree of legislative intelligence and liberty.

In answer to Filmer, Mr. Locke denies there is any natural right derived from paternal authority to exercise civil authority over mankind. The assumption, he says, is altogether gratuitous and, at bottom, absurd.

On the nature of the social compact, the author maintains, that a state of nature is a state of perfect freedom and equality; but this state does not confer

an unlimited license to do whatever you please. This law has its bounds clearly defined, by the exercise of the same liberty you enjoy. The execution of the law of nature is placed into every man's hand ; so that he may punish whoever violates it, either against himself or others. " Every offence that can be committed in the state of nature, may, in the state of nature, be punished equally, and as far forth, as it may in a commonwealth." All men, the author affirms, must be considered in a state of nature till they voluntarily enter into some society.

If a man, by word or deed, threatens to take the life of another fellow-creature, then war ensues ; and the aggressor exposes his own life, which the other party, or any of his friends, may take away. And the same thing may be affirmed of those who attempt to obtain absolute power over another ; because, when this is attained, the life or property of the subjected party must rest in the hands of the conqueror, who can give no security, but his own will, for their safety.

Natural liberty is defined by Locke to be, a freedom from any superior or higher authority than the law of nature. Civil liberty consists in a freedom from any power but that which a legislature, established by consent, shall maintain. No individual can, by his own consent, enslave himself, or confer a power on another to take away his life. Slavery, in any sense, is a state of war between the conqueror and his captive.

The chapter, on the nature of property, is well entitled to the especial regard of the politician. " It would," as Mr. Hallam justly remarks, " be sufficient, if all Locke's other writings had perished, to leave him

a high name in philosophy*." Locke's opinion is, that *labour* constitutes property ; or, confers a right to inheritances. This labour may not be of that kind which comes under the category of any of the arts of civilised life ; but the mere acts of gathering the fruits of the earth, or catching wild animals, are sufficient to constitute legal and legitimate occupancy. The cultivation of the soil sustains a divided right to property in it. "As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He, by his labour, does, as it were, inclose it from the common."

Labour must always be the basis of property ; and this is perfectly consonant to the nature of things, for every thing valuable must spring from labour. "Whatever bread is more worth than acorns, wine than water, cloth or silk than leaves, skins, or moss, that is wholly owing to labour and industry."

But the rights of property are not of an absolute or unconditional nature. A man cannot do with his own what he pleases. No proprietors of land can use their possessions, so as to cause the nation or individuals to perish of cold or hunger.

The legislative power, is the supreme power of the state ; but Locke maintains that if the people see proper to alter it, they have a full right to do so. If they had not this right, there could not be the semblance of civil liberty. But as long as the legislative power exists, it is supreme, whether it is placed in one person's hand, or in many.

Mr. Locke ridicules the idea of a representative power being conferred upon places which have almost no

* Lit. Middle Ages.

inhabitants, and which possess no particular influence in the social scale ; such, for example, as many of the old boroughs, which were annihilated in England, by the late Reform Bill.

Locke defines prerogative to be " A power of acting according to discretion for the public good, without the prescription of the law, and sometimes even against it." The reader will find the author's observations on this subject in his eleventh chapter ; but the reasonings here are not the most happy of Locke's efforts.

" Conquest is an unholy and unjust war, and never can acquire legitimate authority. If we have not such force as to successfully combat the usurper, we must patiently wait, till a favourable opportunity occurs to throw off the yoke. Usurpation stands in precisely the same situation as conquest ; it can confer no just title to obedience or authority. The consent of the subject is indispensable to every act of power*."

With respect to the kingly office, Mr. Locke thinks, that when a prince has usurped the sovereign power, and brought misery upon his people, he should be held personally responsible for his deeds. Without a power of retribution be held in the hands of the people, there can be no motive for kings and governors to do their duty justly, and conscientiously. The mass of the citizens are always inclined to bear long with the waywardness of their kings ; but it is a wholesome political safeguard, they should remember, that there are limits to forbearance, and that the liberties of the state shall not be trampled under-foot with impunity†.

* Chap. 17. † Chaps. 18, 19, which are, on the whole, sound and judicious.

The influence of Mr. Locke's work on civilised states has been immense; no treatise, either ancient or modern, can be compared to it in this respect.

The "Political Tracts" of Lord Halifax, are exceedingly interesting, both from their style and matter. He is likewise supposed to be the author of the "Character of a Political Trimmer," commonly ascribed to Sir William Coventry. This tract describes the general character of a *political trimmer*, who is a man that avoids all extremes and winds his way among clashing interests with ease. "The art of trimming, philosophically considered, is the height of wisdom and political acumen. The temperate trims between the burning deserts and the frozen seas; the episcopalian church trims between anabaptist wildness and popish apathy; the British constitution trims between Turkish despotism and Polish anarchy; and even the wisdom of the supreme being is displayed by the strict equilibrium of all his attributes."

DAWSON'S "Origo Legum," is a treatise in seven books, published in 1693, folio, containing a philosophical dissertation, in some of the preliminary chapters, on the origin of law; showing that all judicial rules and principles arise from certain elementary notions, imprinted on the minds of mankind. All law depends, according to the author, upon the *eternal law* of nature, established by God, by which all things are regulated and governed. The law of reason is a great branch of this eternal law, and is the foundation of human law, as illustrated in the government of men in a state of social communion. The author discusses the questions, what reason is; that there is such a law as the law of reason; what the law of rea-

son is ; what the subject matter of the law of reason is ; that man by reason can give laws to his own will, senses, appetite, that is, to himself ; and that by reason he can give laws to all inferior beings*.

To form a correct idea of the nature of all political relationships, three things must be observed ; man must be considered as a citizen of the world ; as a member of a body politic ; and as an immortal creature.

“*Bibliotheca Politica* ; or, an Inquiry into the Ancient Constitution of the English Government.” In thirteen Dialogues, London, 1694. The first dialogue relates to the question, whether monarchy be of divine right ? The second, whether hereditary succession to crowns, be a divine institution ; the third, whether resistance of the supreme power by a whole nation, can be justified by the law of nature, or the gospel ; the fourth, whether absolute non-resistance is enjoined by the gospel, or was the doctrine of the primitive church ; the fifth, whether the king be the supreme legislative authority, and whether the parliament be a fundamental part of the government ; or proceeds from the favour of kings ; the sixth, whether the commons of England, was one of the three estates of the kingdom, before the 49th of Henry III. ; the seventh, the same question continued ; the eighth, continuation of the same subject ; the ninth, whether the ancient laws and constitution of this kingdom, as well as by the statutes of the 13th and 14th of Charles II., all resistance of the king, or of those commissioned by him, are expressly forbidden upon any pretence whatsoever ; the tenth, whether a king of England can ever fall from, or forfeit his royal dignity, for any breach of

an original contract, or wilful violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom ; and whether King William the Conqueror, did not acquire, by virtue of his conquest, an absolute and unconditioned right to the crown of these realms ; the eleventh, in what sense civil power is said to be derived from God, &c. ; whether the appointment of William Prince of Orange, be in accordance to the constitutional maxims of the English Constitution ; the twelfth and thirteenth dialogues are on matters of little public moment.

WALTER MOYLE, who sat in parliament for the borough of Saltash, in 1695, was the author of several works of a political character. He published "An Argument against a Standing Army," which obtained him some notice among the public men of the day. He shows that the very constitution of an armed force is antagonistic to every correct view of civil liberty. It is, he says, a gross mockery for a man to talk of freedom with a musket in his hand. Moyle likewise wrote "An Essay on the Lacedemonian Government ;" another "On the Roman Constitution ;" as well as other tracts on political economy.

DEVENANT.—"Essays," London, 1700. These Essays contain dissertations on "The Balance of Power ; or, the Right of Declaring War or Peace, and entering into Alliances ; and, on Universal Monarchy."

DANIEL DE FOE.—"Political Works." Daniel De Foe is a most voluminous political writer, and one of the most distinguished of his age and nation. No man ever battled more manfully and consistently for enlightened and liberal sentiments in politics than he did, and few have suffered more grievous and tantalising prosecutions for their steadfast adherence to

them. Party feelings and views ran at this time, as we have recently remarked, very high ; and being a man of ardent and impassioned feelings, he threw himself into the midst of contending factions, with a full determination to take his fair share of the good and the ills, which result from such strifes and contentions. He had been educated in the political sentiments of the English presbyterians, and adopted the general opinions of that body, without, however, any sectarian strictness or bigotry. The great principles of civil and religious freedom were the constant theme of his praise, and the burden of his labours. It appears, from his own account, that even in early life he became a regular and systematic student of politics *as a science*, and had studied, with some care and minuteness, both the theory and practice of the English constitution.

At the age of twenty-one, he formally commenced his career as a political writer, by the production of a pamphlet, entitled "Speculum Crape-Gownorum ; or a Looking-glass for the young Academicks, new Foyl'd ; with Reflexions on some of the High-flown Sermons of the newest Fashion," by a guide to the Inferior Clergy, 1672. This piece of satirical writing was intended as a reply to a work published by the celebrated Roger L'Estrange, called "A Guide to the Inferior Clergy," in which De Foe considered there were many very illiberal and tyrannical sentiments. The object of De Foe was, chiefly, to ridicule the political and ecclesiastical opinions and pretensions of the high church party, then very powerful and dominant. He reprobates the practice, then almost universal, of the clerical body directly interfering with politics in their pulpits ; in order "that they may see how ridicu-

lous they are, when they stand fretting, and fuming, and heating themselves, about state affairs." This lampoon became uncommonly popular in London, and even attracted considerable attention among the higher class of politicians and public characters of the day.

A short time after this, he withdrew from politics, and commenced as a commission agent in London, for the sale of hose. Here he followed his new calling with diligence for the space of ten years; but, at length, his warm and enthusiastic temperament again prevailed, and urged him to make some effort to stem the current of political heresy and arbitrary power. The doctrine of the *Divine Right of Kings*, gave him mortal umbrage. "It was, for many years," he says, "and I am witness to it, that the pulpit sounded nothing but the duty of absolute submission, obedience without reserve, subjection to princes as God's vicegerents, accountable to none, to be withstood in nothing, and by no person. I have heard it publicly preached, that if the king commanded my head, and sent his messengers to fetch it, I was bound to submit, and stand still while it was cut off." These opinions were so repugnant to his judgment, and so contrary to the whole tenor of his mode of thinking, that he was goaded on to join the standard of freedom against the power and authority of James II., and was actually with the Duke of Monmouth when he landed in Dorsetshire. The 4th of November, when the Prince of Orange set his foot on English soil, De Foe commemorated as a high festival day, during his whole life; declaring that "It was a day famous on various accounts, and every one of them dear to Britons who love their country, value the protestant

interest, or who have an aversion to tyranny and oppression."

The next political work of De Foe's, of any note, were his "Essays on Projects," containing his speculations on politics, commerce, and benevolence. Like many other political projectors, both ancient and modern, he conceived that his plans would banish misery and wickedness from the earth. His hints "Might," he says, "be improved into methods that should prevent the general misery and poverty of mankind, and at once secure us against beggars, parish-poor, alms-houses, and other hospitals; by which not a creature so miserable or so poor, but should claim subsistence as their due, and not ask it of charity."

When the new monarch ascended the British throne, we are informed that he was much shocked at the moral dissoluteness of the nation, and that he issued a proclamation in which he says, "I esteem one of the greatest advantages of the peace (just then concluded), that I shall now have leisure to rectify such corruptions and abuses as have crept into any part of the administration during the war, and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality." The then House of Commons zealously seconded this proposal, and said, "They most humbly desired that his majesty would issue out his royal proclamation, commanding all judges, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, to put in speedy execution, the good laws that were now in force against profaneness and immorality, giving encouragement to all such as did their duty therein." The proclamation issued, and the archbishop of Canterbury drew up some "excellent rules for the government of the clergy." While all this was going on,

De Foe seems not to have entered into the matter with any hearty relish ; and the cause of this apathy was, that he thought such a royal proclamation would be a partial and one-sided manifesto, directed more against what he called the "common people," than against the upper and more influential ranks of society. Under this impression, he published "The Poor Man's Plea," in which he expressed his suspicions, in pungent and facetious language, that the work of reformation should commence at the highest grades of society, where he hinted, reform was most needed, and would prove most efficacious on the minds of the mass of the nation. He says, "In searching for the proper cure of an epidemic disease, physicians tell us it is first necessary to know the cause. Immorality is, without doubt, the present reigning distemper of the nation ; and the king and parliament who are indeed the proper physicians, seem nobly inclined to undertake the cure. But as a person under the violence of a disease sends in vain for a physician, unless he resolves to make use of his prescription, so in vain does the king attempt to reform a nation, unless they are willing to reform themselves." After noticing, with due commendation, the efforts of the public authorities, he says, "These are great things, and if well improved, would give an undoubted overthrow to the tyranny of vice. But we of the *plebii* find ourselves justly aggrieved in all this work of reformation, and the partiality of the reforming rigour makes the real work impossible. Our laws against all manner of vicious practices are very severe ; but these are all cobweb laws, in which the small flies are caught, and the great ones break through. My lord mayor has

whipped about the poor beggars, and a few scandalous females have been sent to the House of Correction ; some alehouse keepers and vintners have been fined for drawing drink on the Sabbath-day ; but all this falls upon us of the mob, as if all the vice lay among us. We appeal to yourselves, whether laws or proclamations are capable of having any effect while the very benches of our justices are infected ? 'Tis hard, gentlemen, to be punished for a crime by a man as guilty as ourselves : this is really punishing men for being poor, which is no crime at all ; as a thief may be said to be hanged not for the theft, but for being taken." Again he remarks, " The quality of the person has been a license to the open exercise of the worst crimes ; as if there were any baronets, knights, or esquires in the next world, who, because of those little steps custom had raised them on higher than their neighbours, they should be exempted from the divine judicature ; or, as Captain Vratz, who was hanged for murdering Esquire Thynne, said, ' God would show them some respect, as they were gentlemen."

The author does not spare that part of the royal proclamation which had a reference to the clergy ; who, he affirms, as a body, were very much in need of reform in both their morals and manners. It is evident, however, that De Foe felt that he had here got upon ticklish ground. He allows that he raised up against him a whole host of enemies, who accused him of being an enemy to all religion and good government. This is just what might naturally be expected. Entire bodies of men feel invective keenly ; both because it is always partially levelled against them, and likewise that the innocent suffer for the guilty.

De Foe had a warm constitutional feeling towards the House of Orange, and when a certain cry was set up by a small and noisy faction of political writers, that the monarch was a "foreigner," our author took up the question, and wrote, in retaliation, his famous "True-born Englishman," a publication, in verse, that attracted no small share of public attention at the time of its appearance, and can be read even now with pleasure and amusement. The author banters his countrymen for talking so glibly and disloyally of foreigners, seeing that their own parentage, as a nation, is but of a questionable and base origin. He thinks the British nobility have not much to boast of in the way of ancestry :

"These are the heroes who despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much ;
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived—
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransacked kingdoms and dispeopled towns.
The Pict and painted Briton, treacherous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought ;
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-haired offspring everywhere remains ;
Who, joined with Norman-French, compound the breed,
From whence your True-born Englishmen proceed ;
And lest by length of time it be pretended
The climate may the modern race have mended,
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care."

He considers that true nobility lies in virtue and honour.

" 'Tis well that virtue gives nobility,
Else God knows where we had our gentry ;

Since scarce one family is left alive
Which does not from some foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand English gentlemen
Whose names and arms in registers remain,
We challenge all our heralds to declare
Ten families which English-Saxon are."

On the origin of the English nation, we have the following lines :—

" Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
And less inclined to conquer than to save ;
Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
And equally of fear and forecast void.
The Pict has made 'em sour, the Dane morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What honesty they have the Saxons gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The climate makes them terrible and bold ;
And English beef their courage does uphold ;
No danger can their daring spirit pall,
Always provided with their bellies full."

The author speaks highly of King William in this work, and considers that the nation owes him a great debt of gratitude, for the wisdom and humanity of his government. The poem then concludes with the following lines on the nobility of personal character :

" Could but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate ;
How we contend for birth and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own ;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And then disown the vile degenerate race ;
For fame of families is all a cheat,
'TIS PERSONAL VIRTUE ONLY MAKES US GREAT !"

The high church party being now very rampant, and carrying matters with a high hand, De Foe's wrath

was excited to its greatest pitch, and he wrote his work, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," 1702, which extended his reputation, as a political satirist, far and wide, but which cost him, nevertheless, much suffering and distress. The most curious and extraordinary circumstance connected with this work was, that the nation took up as a piece of serious argument, what was only meant as irony and ridicule. De Foe conceived that the most effectual mode of bringing the arguments of the intolerant church party into public odium and disrespect, was to use their own arguments, and push them to their ultimate logical conclusions. This he carried out in the language and tone of banter, which might have been easily seen through. He recommends the infliction of the severest pains and penalties on the restless and turbulent spirits of dissent, whose principles, he affirms, are inimical to the peace and well-being of the nation. He says, that "We can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation till the spirit of whiggism, faction, and schism is melted down, like the old money." Dissenters of every grade and cast must be all exterminated. "I do not prescribe fire and fagot," says De Foe, "but as Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago*—they are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own." Again, he continues—"Tis vain to trifle in this matter. The light, foolish handling of them by fines is their glory and advantage. If the gallows instead of the compter, and the galleys instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors would go to forty churches rather

than be hanged. If one severe law was made, and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale—they would all come to church, and one age would make us all one again. To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and of one shilling a week for not coming to church, is such a way of converting people as never was known! This is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why don't we give them full license? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the government. We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming; but an offence against God and the church—against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion—shall be bought off for five shillings! This is such a shame to a Christian government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity."

The high churchman, on the one hand, was quite fascinated with his ready mode of overcoming his opponents; and, on the other, the dissenters of every denomination were in a state of dreadful excitement, at the promulgation of such atrocious opinions and sentiments. When the irony and the joke of the work began to be perceived, the rage of both parties fell with redoubled severity on poor De Foe's head. He was denounced as infamous, and as richly deserving the severest persecution. The authorities began to move in the matter, and he was "charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet." He withdrew into a place of concealment, but was followed by the

“London Gazette,” which offered a reward for his apprehension. It describes his person thus:—“He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years’ old; of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, gray eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor in Freeman’s Yard in Cornhill, and is now owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex. Whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her majesty’s justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of £50, which her majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery.” De Foe, seeing his escape impossible, surrendered, stood his trial, and was sentenced to pay a fine of 200 marks to the queen, stand three times in the pillory, find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years, and be imprisoned during the pleasure of her majesty. He suffered the ignominy of the pillory with determined firmness and courage, and was cheered by the multitude assembled around him. De Foe considered this public exhibition as a great triumph. He wrote a “Hymn to the Pillory,” in which he speaks of the instrument in the following strain:—

“Hail hieroglyphic state machine,
Contrived to punish fancy in;
Men that are men, in thee can feel no pain,
And all thy insignificants disdain.
Contempt, that false new word for shame,
Is, without crime, an empty name;
A shadow to amuse mankind,
But never frights the wise or well-fixed mind.
Virtue despises human scorn,
And scandals innocence adorn.”

And well might he thus hurl his defiance at the parties who had so basely treated him:—

“Tell them the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes.”

Within the grim walls of Newgate, he wrote his satirical poem, the “Reformation of Manners,” in which there are many lofty and noble sentiments; and he seems to have anticipated in this effusion that, at no distant day, the slave would be liberated from his owner. On this system he says,

“The harmless natives basely they trepan,
And barter baubles for the souls of men:
The wretches they to christian climes bring o'er
To serve worse heathens than they served before.”

The author wrote several political pamphlets after this severe and unmerited punishment. The reader will find his political opinions very fully stated, on most questions of daily interest, in his periodical work called the “Review,” which he carried on for the space of nine years. This was an influential political instrument. It was exclusively devoted to politics and trade. It took up every important topic of the hour; and the writing was vigorous, witty, and level to the understandings of the mass of the community. It brought him many enemies; the high church party often going the length of threatening to murder him. He used to reply to these threats with the most provoking coolness, by telling his enemies that he would stay at home at night, because none of them would dare to attack him in the day-time; and, moreover, that he would wear a piece of armour on

his back, as he was certain they would never venture to meet him face to face.

The author's work, "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*," is the most elaborate of his writings on the abstract principles of government. It goes to prove that all kings, governors, and forms of government, proceed from the people, which is the nature of the English constitution; that the resistance of authority, when tyrannically exercised, is conformable to scripture and reason; that divine revelation and the history of the church confirm this right; and that passive obedience is a treasonable doctrine, contradictory to the attributes of God, and encouraging to rebellion, usurpation, and tyranny.

De Foe may be justly considered as a bold, an able, and incorruptible politician. It is true that, in 1705, we find him applying, by letter, to Lord Halifax, to be engaged as a political writer; and that his lordship sent him a handsome acknowledgment for his services*. But we detect nothing crouching, base, or unprincipled in this application. De Foe always stood manfully by the constitution, and the great principles of the Reformation of 1688. The freedom of Englishmen, and the real prosperity and power of England, were the grand objects he ever had in view.

The seeds of political economy were sown in the period of history we are now considering; but they had not, as yet, produced much fruit. We shall barely notice the subject by way of form, leaving its further and fuller consideration to a more appropriate period of time.

Hobbes has been claimed by modern economists as one of the very first English writers who had arrived

* Letters by the Camden Society, 1843.

at correct conclusions as to the real sources of national wealth. In the "Leviathan," 1651, he says, "The *nutrition* of a commonwealth consisteth in the *plenty* and *distribution* of *materials* conducing to life. As to the plenty of matter, it is a thing limited by nature to those commodities, which, from two breasts of our common mother the *land* and *sea*, God usually either freely giveth, or for labour selleth to mankind. For the matter of this nutriment consisteth in animals, vegetables, minerals; God hath freely laid them before us, in or near to the face of the earth, so as there needeth no more but the labour and industry of receiving them, inasmuch that *plenty dependeth* (next to God's favour) *on the labour and industry of man.*"

In addition to these remarks by Hobbes, we have several pages of Locke's "Essay on Government," devoted to what, in his opinion, constituted the real wealth of a country. He maintains that "It is labour which puts the greatest part of the value upon land, *without which it would scarcely be worth anything.*"

The other publications which appeared in England, previous to the year 1700, on Economical Science, are chiefly of that class which relate to trade and commerce. The names of these are the following:—"The Merchants' Mappe of Commerce," London, 1638. "The Treasure of Trafficke; or, a Discourse of Forraigne Trade," 1641. "England's Treasure by Forraigne Trade," 1644. "England's Interest and Improvement," 1663. There are four works by Mr. Roger Coke, namely, "A Treatise wherein is Demonstrated that the Church and State of England are in Equal Danger with the Trade of it," 1671. 2nd,— "Reasons of the Increase of the Dutch Trade," 1671.

3rd,—“England’s Improvement,” 1675. 4th,—“How the Navigation of England may be Increased,” 1675. “England’s Greatest Happiness,” 1677. “Britannia Languens; or, a Discourse on Trade,” 1680. “A New Discourse on Trade,” 1668. “Discourses upon Trade,” 1691. “An Essay on the Probable Methods of Making the People Gainers in the Balance of Trade*.”

SECTION IV.

On Public Records—Satirical Productions and Ballads of a Political character—The Drama—Newspapers, &c., &c.

BESIDES the regular treatises, written expressly on political subjects, that we have ventured to scan over in this chapter, and which, form the staple commodity of British speculation on the abstract nature and functions of government, there are other classes of works, which have aided, in some measure, the cause of truth and knowledge on the science of politics. On some of these publications, we shall make a remark or two.

In the first place, we may mention the Public Records of the kingdom. An immense body of interesting and useful information is to be derived from this source. They abound with matters of fact, which enable a general reasoner to verify and establish his abstract propositions and principles. The records of the proceedings of parliament, and the state trials up to the revolution of 1688, abound in valuable mate-

* See note A, at the end of the volume.

rials to the politician. *State Proclamations*, from 1558 to 1624, may be occasionally met with in private hands, and even in some few public libraries. There is a valuable collection of this kind, which forms a continuation to the above, embracing the royal proclamations from 1625 to 1717, now in the possession of the Cheetham Library, Manchester. The *Harleian Miscellany*, in ten, and Lord Somer's Tracts, in twelve volumes, quarto, contain an immense body of curious political writing. In addition to these, there are the *King's Tracts*, in the British Museum, filling more than a score of volumes, and abounding with the rarest and most notable tracts published during the civil wars.

The "*Harleian Miscellany*," in ten volumes, contains an immense storehouse of curious and interesting political writing, on almost all theoretical and practical matters of general polity. There are likewise to be found here, several satirical poems on some of the more striking political events of the times; such, for example, as "*Roy's Satire against Cardinal Wolsey*," 1526, containing full eighty quarto pages. In this interesting and voluminous collection most all the political papers or essays are, however, very brief, many of them only amounting to a few pages, or even a single leaf or two. On this account the Harleian papers, taken as a whole, will not afford much aid to philosophical politicians who aim at obtaining an enlarged and profound view of all the abstract principles of the science of their favourite study. The assistance they will chiefly obtain will be that of recognising the state of public excitement at any given period, and the hold that particular political questions and measures seemed to have on the popular understanding.

The collections of political tracts, squibs, pamphlets, &c., at the Royal Institution, Albemarle-street, London, are valuable. Collection A, 23 vols. fol. ; Collection B, 29 vols. fol. ; Miscellaneous D, 10 vols. ; Political E, 65 vols. ; Dutten's collection F, 87 vols. ; Historical G, 5 vols. ; Miscellaneous H, 8 cases ; Miscellaneous I, 2 cases ; Miscellaneous K, 63 vols. ; Miscellaneous L, 7 vols. ; state tracts M, 3 vols. ; and Rushworth's collection, 8 fol. vols.

In the Free Library, Manchester, there is a collection of political tracts, embracing matters both of theory and speculation, on trade, commerce, finance, revenue, &c., of nearly seven thousand volumes. This is, we believe, the largest and best assortment of the kind in Great Britain. Writers who wish to enter fully into any of the leading divisions of political science, will find in this collection, a great and diversified mass of interesting and useful information.

In the writings of the historians, from the Reformation in England, to the accession of the Prince of Orange, many important political opinions and sentiments will be found. The same remark is applicable to the general mass of theological works ; particularly sermons, which underwent a marked change, with the fluctuations of public opinion, on matters of state necessity or expediency.

The popular songs of a nation constitute one of the most palpable manifestations of its political feelings and sympathies ; and this is more strikingly the case, if other legitimate channels for the expression of public sentiment be choked or dried up by the repressive hand of power. The song writer is an ubiquitous and privileged character. He pursues his avocation in the

family circle, in the workshop, in the tavern, at the gay festival, in the squallid alley, in the barrack-room of the soldier, and in the mess-room of the sailor. His strains are hearty, bold, and genial; the embodiment of thought, emotion, and melody. The popular song is easy, simple, and born of the incidents of the day. It is the intellectual personification of the feelings and opinions of a people. It is the delight of the multitude—the joy and solace of the many. It laughs in derision at despotic power, lightens the social burdens of life, and inspires the patriot with hope. Of the popular satirical song, much has been written, but nothing definitely settled. There is a schism among critics on its nature and character. It is a compound of delicate essences, and incommunicable graces, which bids defiance to definition. But we know that popular songs must be the energetic and faithful transcripts of general experience and feelings. Their necessary characteristics are fancy, passion, dramatic effect, rapidity and pathos. They are not transferable; the popular satire and humour of one country, cannot be adequately relished by another; nor, in the same country, are such productions so influential on public opinion in subsequent periods of its history, as when they first appeared. Time blunts the instrument, and deadens the national perceptions of the witty and the ridiculous.

The political influence of the poetic muse gradually increased, as politics became more generally studied and literature cultivated. The kingly office had its poet-laureates, whose chief office it was to sing their praise, and herald their virtuous deeds and sage councils to the ears of their subjects. The fulsome, and often very childish strains in which this was done,

frequently called from untitled pens some severe rebuke and satirical effusion, which told upon the public mind of the day, to the no small annoyance of both the royal personages and their ministers and courtiers. In the writings of the several poet-laureates from Benard, in the reign of Henry VIII. to Nahum Tate, who died in 1715, there is not much of a political character to excite the attention of the reader.

When Henry V. embarked for France, in 1415, he was attended by fifteen minstrels, to each of whom he gave the sum of twelvenpence a day. We are told, however, that the king's modesty was so great that he would not allow the court poets to sing of his daring exploits at Agincourt, because they were all to be referred to the hand of providence*.

In the times of Henry VIII., the reformers and their opponents, or, as they were called, the old and the new profession, had each their respective set of ballad makers. The well-known ballad of "Luther, the pope, a cardinal, and a husbandman," and "Little Johnny Nobody," are descriptive of the contentions about religious doctrines, and the nature and limits of ecclesiastical power. There were, indeed, a great number of common ballads circulated in the lower ranks of life, which sung the praises of the German reformers, and which touched upon the more prominent events of the continental movement, with great humour and drollery.

In 1588 we have the national hymn on the threatened Spanish invasion.

" From our base invaders,
From wicked men's device,

* Hollinshed.

O God! arise and aid us
 And crush our enemies.
 Sink deep their potent navies,
 Their strengthen'd spirits break,
 O God! arise and help us,
 For Jesus Christ, his sake.

"Though cruel Spain and Rome
 With heathen legions arm,
 O God! arise and help us,
 We will perish for our home;
 We will not change our Credo
 For Pope, nor Book, nor Bell;
 And if the devil comes himself,
 We will drive him home to hell."

Of our national anthem, "God save the King," much has been written. The tune is attributed to a Dr. John Bull, and the words to Ben Jonson; it has been claimed by the French; and some affirm it to be a Jacobite song, and first applied to King James I.

There are many separate collections of political and satirical songs and poems, published before the Revolution of 1688. Several productions of this kind will be found in the general collections of state papers already mentioned. There is a collection of poetical effusions, called "The Rump," containing articles printed between 1639 and 1661. In the preface, it is said, "You have many songs here which were never before in print; we cannot tell you whose they are; but we have not subjoined any author's name; heretofore it was unsafe. 'Tis hoped they did your majesty some service; 'twas for that end they were published."

The two large collections of what are known by the name of "The Rump Songs," are curious chronicles of

popular feeling. "The Rump" formed a never-failing theme for wit and satire.

"The Rump's an old story, if well understood,
Tis a thing dress'd up in a parliament's hood,
And like it—but the tail stands where the head should.
'Twould make a man scratch where it does not itch,
They say 'tis good luck when a body rises
With the rump upwards; but he that advises
To live in that posture, is none of the wisest."

When Cromwell hunted the "Rump" out of the House of Commons by military force, a song says :

"Our politic doctors do us teach,
That a blood-sucking red coat is good as a leech,
To relieve the head, if applied to the breech."

As a specimen of the political rhyming of the times, we shall give a few lines from "The True Presbyterian," by Sir John Denham, knight, 1680.

"A Presbyter is such a monstrous thing,
That loves Democracy, and hates a King;
For royal issue never making prayers,
Since Kingdoms (as he thinks) should have no heirs,
But stand Elective; that the holy crew
May, when their zeal transports them, choose a new.
And is so strangely grounded in belief,
That anti-christ his coming will be brief,
As he dares swear, if that he swear at all,
The Quakers are ordained to make him fall.
From whence he grows impatient, and he says,
The wisest counsels are but fond delays,
To hold him lingering in deluding hope,
Else long ere this he had subdu'd the Pope.

* * * * * * * *

A Presbyter as he has woman's fears,
And yet will set the whole world by the ears;

He'll rail in public if the king deny,
 To let the quarrel of the Spaniard die.
 He storms to hear in France the wars should cease,
 And that by treaty there should be a peace."

There were several satirical pieces published at the end of the seventeenth century, in imitation of the celebrated "Hudibras" of Butler. We have the "Hogan-Moganides; or, the Dutch Hudibras," 1674. "The Irish Hudibras," 1689. "The Whig's Supplication," 1695. In Imitation of Hudibras; or, the Dissenting Hypocrite," 1700; and "Pendragon, or the Carpet Knight," 1700. The "Imitation" is an abusive article on De Foe; and the "Pendragon" is a smart attack on Sir Roger L'Estrange; he is described as

"A pliant tool, oblig'd with knighthood
 And large rewards, he was excited
 To serve the times through all excesses,
 And on foul deeds to put fair faces,
 Until he grew to be the great
 Prevaricator of the state;
 Thus all true Englishmen be found,
 Pendragon with his pen dragoon'd."

EDWARD WARD, or as he was commonly called Ned Ward, was one of the most notorious retailers of political lampoons and scurrility of the times. His "British Hudibras," and his "Hudibras Redivivus," are his chief works in this line. The first publication is devoted to the burning of Burgess's chapel, by a mob, and the display of party feeling it gave rise to. The second work is a satire on the low church party. The following is a description of a meeting of puritans.

" A throng of searchers after truth
Were crowding at the alley's mouth,
Wherein the conventicle stood,
Like Smithfield droll-booth, built with wood ;
All shoving to obtain admittance,
As if they hop'd for full acquittance
Of all the evils they had done,
From that time back to forty-one :
Some wrapt in cloaks that had been wore
By saints defunct, in times of yore :
Others in coats, which by their fashion
Bore date from Charles's restauration,
Shelter'd beneath umbrella hats,
And canoniz'd with rose cravats,
That by their querbos and their quaints,
The world might read them to be saints :
Their sweaty rat-tail hair hung down
To th' shoulders from each addled crown,
Kept thin, to cool their frantick brains,
And comb'd as straight as horses' manes ;
Their bodies almost skeletons,
Reduc'd by zeal to skin and bones,
So lean and envious in the face,
As if they'd neither grease nor grace.
The good old dames, among the rest,
Were all most primitively drest
In stiffen-body'd russet gowns,
And on their heads old steeple crowns ;
With pristine pinnars next their faces,
Edg'd round with ancient scollop laces,
Such as my antiquary says,
Were worn in old Queen Bess's days,
In ruffs, and fifty other ways :
Their wrinkl'd necks were cover'd o'er,
With whisks of lawn by grannums wore,
In base contempt of bishops' sleeves,
As Simon Orthodox believes.
At length up stepp'd the formal prater,
Who was of country May-pole stature,
Slender, stiff-neck'd, extremely tall,
Long-faced and very thin withal.

No sooner had old Heart-of-Oak,
 Upon a peg hung hat and cloak,
 But round their sockets did he rowl
 The little windows of his soul ;
 But soon we found his eye-balls hid,
 Turn'd up beneath each upper lid,
 And then he work'd about the whites,
 As mad-men do in raving fits ;
 Reel'd in his tub from side to side,
 And wrung his hands as if he cry'd.
 His beard from shoul' to shoulder rov'd,
 And like the clock-work drummers mov'd ;
 Thus yawn'd, and gap'd, and gently styrr'd
 His head, but yet said ne'er a word ;
 Made many strange Geneva faces,
 And out-did twenty apes' grimaces.
 At last his tongue its silence broke,
 And thus the rev'rend spin-text spoke."

OLDHAM was a severe satirist in his day, against the Roman catholics. In his "Satires on the Jesuits," he alludes in the following lines to the "Golden Legends" of Voraginus.

" Tell, how *blessed Virgin* to come down was seen,
 Like play-house punk descending in machine,
 How she writ *Billet-doux*, and *love-discourse*,
 Made *assignations*, *visits* and *amours* ;
 How Hosts distrest, her *smock* for *banner* wore,
 Which vanquished foes ! —
 ———how *fish* in conventicles met,
 And *mackerel* were with *bait of doctrine* caught :
 How cattle have judicious hearers been !—
 How *consecrated hives* with bells were hung.
 And *bees* kept mass, and holy *anthems sung* !
 How *pigs* to th' *rosary* kneel'd, and *sheep* were taught
 To bleat *Te Deum* and *Magnificat* ;

How *fly flap*, of church-censure houses rid
 Of insects, which at *curse of Fryar* died.
 How *ferrying cowl*s religious pilgrims bore
 O'er waves, without the help of sail or oar,
 How *zealous crab*, the *sacred image* bore,
 And swam a Catholic to the distant shore.
 With shams like these the giddy rout mislead,
 Their folly, and their superstition feed."

THOMAS CREED published his "*Micro-Cynion; or, Sixe Snarling Satyres*," in 1599. The publication called "*Mercurius Menippens, the Loyal Satyr*ist; or, *Hudibras in Prose*," was written during the civil wars under Charles I.; but not printed till 1682. This will be found in the *Somer's Tracts*. "*The New Discovery of an Old Intreague*," 1691. "*The Moral*ist; or, a Satyr upon the Sects," 1691. "*A New Year's Gift for the late Rapparees, a Satyr*," 1693. "*Massinello; or a Satyr against the Association and the Guildhall Riot*," 1694. "*Scandalum Magnatum; or, Potapski's Case; a Satire against Polish Oppression*," 1694. "*Reformation of Manners; a Satyr*," 1700. "*Collection of Loyal Songs written against the Rump Parliament*." "*Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*," 1685. Evan's "*Old Ballads*," 4 vols., 1810. "*Collection of Poems relating to State Affairs, from Oliver Cromwell to the present day*," London, 1705. "*Poems on Affairs of State*," by various hands; namely,—the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Rochester, &c., 2 vols., 1697, 1703. There are about fifty distinct political satyres and squibs, down to the year 1700, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the names of which will be found in the catalogue, under the head of *Poemata*.

In D'URFEY's "Pills to Purge Melancholy," we have the political trimmer described in these lines:—

"Pray lend me your ear if you've any to spare,
You that love commonwealth, as you hate common prayer;
That can in a breath pray, dissemble, and swear,
Which nobody can deny.

"Of our gracious King William I am a great lover,
Yet side with a party that prays for another;
I'll drink the King's health, take it one way or other,
Which nobody can deny.

"The times are so tickled, I vow and profess
I know not which party or cause to embrace;
I want to join those that are least in distress,
Which nobody can deny.

"Each party you see is thus full of hope,
There are some for the Devil and some for the Pope,
And I am for anything else but a *rope*,
Which nobody can deny."

JOHN CLEVELAND was a political and poetical satirist of great note in his day. His works were published in one volume, in 1699, although he died in 1658. It contains poems, orations, and epistles; likewise the "Rustic Rampant; or, Rural Anarchy."

In the several publications of the "Percy Society," there will be found a good number of satirical productions of a political cast, both in prose and verse.

The early poetical effusions of Scotland, as we have already mentioned in the first section of this chapter, had, unquestionably, a great influence over the minds of the people of that country, because they were generally founded on the prevailing movements of political

factions, and the civil animosities of the times. Many of the national songs, which had an almost universal circulation, were, however, of an unusually licentious and indelicate character.

The Presbyterian church, as well as the catholic hierarchy, was sometimes severely handled by some of the popular song writers of the day. John Knox relates, that a person of the name of Wilson, published a ballad against some of the preachers of the Scottish kirk, and had a very narrow escape from hanging!

Among the lyrical poetry of the north, of a political stamp, we must not pass over the *Jacobite relics* of Scotland. They form a rude and satirical commentary on the history and fortunes of the Stuart family in latter times, and are intimately connected with our popular notions on the rights and privileges of the British constitution. These well-known songs are coarse, but full of humour; and they spring from the genuine sentiments of those who sincerely lamented the political changes which gave them birth. The effects of these songs on the minds of a considerable bulk of the people, continued long after the particular incidents and events which gave rise to them; and even at the present hour are not altogether devoid of interest to many influential families in Scotland.

Not a tenth part, it is supposed, of these Jacobite songs have, as yet, been published. The only collection here referred to is that by James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who published two volumes—a first and second series of them. There are likewise a goodly number of whig songs in answer to them; but they form no proportion to those of their rivals. The great mass of these songs relate to events of the first half of

the eighteenth century ; but we shall give a specimen or two of songs anterior to that date.

SONG, written about the middle of the Commonwealth.

“AWA, WHIGS, AWA,”

“ Our thistles flourish fresh and fair,
And bonie bloom'd our roses,
But whigs came like a frost in June,
And wither'd all our poses.
Awa, whigs, awa,
Awa, whigs, awa.
Your but a pack o'traitor louns,
Ye'll do nae gude at a'.

“ Our ancient crown's fa'n in the dust,
Deil blin' them wi' the stoure o't,
And write his name in his black beuk,
Wha gae the whigs the power o'nt.
Awa, whigs, &c.

“ Our sad decay in church and state,
Surpassing my describing ;
The whigs came o'er us for a curse,
And we hae done wi' thriving.
Awa, whigs, &c.

“ Grim vengeance lang has ta'en a nap,
But we may see him wauken ;
Gude help the day, when royal heads
Are hunted like a maukin.
Awa, whigs,” &c.

SONG, 1689,

*On the battle between the Highland Army, and the Dutch-English,
commanded by General Mackay, at the pass of Killikranks.*

“ Clavers and his high-land men,
Came down up o' the raw, man ;
Who, being stout, gave mony a clout,
The lads began to claw then.

With sword and terge into their hand,
 Wi' which they were nae slaw, man,
 Wi' mony a fearful heavy sigh,
 We lads began to claw then.

" O'er bush, o'er bank, o'er ditch, o'er stauk.
 She flung amang them a', man ;
 The butter-box got mony knocks,
 Their riggings paid for a' then.
 They got their paiks, wi' sudden straiques,
 Which to their grief they saw, man ;
 Wi' clinkum clankum o'er their crowns,
 The lads began to fa' then.

" Hur skipt about, hur leapt about,
 And flang amang them a', man ;
 The English blades got broken heads,
 Their crowns were cleav'd in twa then.
 The durk and doar made their last hour,
 And prov'd their final fa', man ;
 They thought the devil had been there,
 That play'd them sick a paw then.

" The solemn league and covenant,
 Came whipping up the hills, man ;
 Thought highland trews durst not refuse,
 For to subscribe their bills then :
 In Willie's* name they thought nae ane
 Durst stop their course at a', man ;
 But hur nane-sell, wi' mony a knock,
 Cry'd Furich-whiggs, awa', man.

" Sir Evan Du, and his men true,
 Came linking up the brink, man ;
 The Hogan Dutch they feared such,
 They bred a horrid stink, then,
 The true Maclean, and his fierce men,
 Came in amang them a', man ;
 Nane durst withstand his heavy hand,
 All fled and ran awa, man.

* Prince of Orange.

“ O fy for shame, ye’re three for ane,
Hur nane-sell’s won the day, man ;
King Shames’ red-coats should be hung up,
Because they ran away, then :
Had bent their brows, like highland trows,
And made as lang a stay, man ;
They’d sav’d their king, that sacred thing,
And Willie’d run awa’ then.”

SONG—“ A HEALTH TO THE CONSTITUTION.”

“ Fill up the mighty sparkling bowl,
Let’s join a health without control,
To the pious mem’ry of the soul,
That formed the revolution.
To all loyal lads, here’s three in hand,
’Tis the king, and the church, and the laws of the land,
May the one by the other firmly stand,
And guard our constitution.

“ Let’s all join hands and merry be,
Pledge you the right, let the left pledge me,
And in a health let’s all agree,
To our king and constitution.
Through north and south to true whigs all,
To Cumberland who gives the call,
By crushing our foes who loud did bawl,
Against the revolution.

“ In flowing bowls let’s friendly heal
The jars of state and commonweal,
The health we drink let not control,
To our great legislators.
May peace and plenty bless our seed,
Our fleet and armies still succeed,
Kings, lords, and commons all agreed
In spite of all conspirators.”

The Irish patriotic songs took their rise soon after

Henry the Eighth's time. Spencer, who lived long in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth, tells us, that "There is among the Irish a certain kind of people called bards, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rhymes; the which are had in such high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them, for fear to run into reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men. * * * Whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhymes. * * * If he should be a most notorious thief and outlaw, which had lived all his lifetime on spoils and robberies, one of their bards will say, that he was none of the idle milk-sops that was brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises; that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword; that he did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; and, finally, that he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death."

The poet of the O'Neils of Clanna-boy, sung of the woes and political oppressions of Ireland. "Our miseries were predicted a long time in the change these strangers wrought in the face of the country. They have hemmed in our sporting lawns, the former theatre of our glory and virtue. They have wounded the earth, and they have disfigured with towers and ramparts those fair fields which nature bestowed for the

support of the animal creation. The slaves of Ireland no longer recognise their common mother, she equally disowns us for her children; we both have lost our forms. Hapless land! the plunderer hath refitted you for his habitation, and we are now moulded for his purpose."

The historical songs of Ireland, which appeared in the struggle between James II. and William III. help to illustrate the state of public feeling in that country, on the political events of the day. These have been recently published by Mr. Croker. Hardiman's "Irish Minstrelsy," 1831, and Miss Brooke's "Reliques of Irish Poetry," 1789, are worth consulting.

The Orange songs are well-known for the influence they have long exercised over the minds of the Irish. The most popular is "The Battle of the Boyne," which, though common, we shall here transcribe.

" July the first, in Old Bridge town,"
 There was a grievous battle;
 Where many a man lay on the ground,
 By cannons that did rattle;
 King James he pitched his tents between,
 Those lines for to retire,
 But William threw his bomb-shells in,
 And set them all on fire,

" Thereat, enraged he vow'd revenge,
 Against King William's forces;
 And oft he swore vehemently,
 That he would stop their courses.
 A bullet from the Irish came,
 Which grazed King William's arm;
 They thought his majesty was slain,
 Yet they did him little harm.

" Duke Schomberg then, with friendly care,
 His king would often caution;

- To shun the spot where bullets hot,
Retained their rapid motion.
But William said, he don't deserve,
The name of faith's defender ;
That would not venture life and limb,
To make a foe surrender.
- " The horse they were to march first o'er
And the foot to follow after ;
But the good Duke Schomberg was no more,
By venturing o'er the water.
But William said, be not dismayed,
For the loss of one commander ;
For God will be our king this day,
And I'll fight general under.
- " The cunning Frenchmen, near Duleek,
Had taken up their quarters ;
And fenced themselves on every side,
Waiting for new orders.
But in the dead time of the night,
They set their fields on fire ;
And long before the morning light,
To Dublin did retire.
- " Then said King William to his men,
After the French departed ;
I'm glad, said he, that none of you,
Seem to be faint hearted ;
So sheath your swords and rest awhile,
In time we'll follow after ;
Those words he uttered with a smile,
The day we crossed the water.
- " The protestants of Drogheda,
Have reason to be thankful ;
That they were not to bondage brought,
Though being scarce a handful ;
First to Tholsel they were brought,
And next to Mil-mote after ;
But good King William set them free,
By venturing o'er the water.

But let us all kneel down and pray,
Now and for ever after ;
And never more forget the day,
King William crossed Boyne Water."

We have made these allusions to the satirical and ephemeral poetry of the hour, solely with the view of throwing some degree of light on the political sentiments of the times. What we have stated will, we are fully aware, fall far short of the requirements of the enthusiastic bibliographer and the antiquarian critic. But the little we have stated may be sufficient to point out the sources, where other writers may prosecute more extended inquiries on the subject. Our object is to illustrate political, and no other branch of general literature.

The drama, during the period of history now under review, was, to a limited extent, a vehicle for political opinions and satire ; but the nature and intensity of these varied with its own external fortunes, and the struggles and vicissitudes of parties. Political sentiment and satire here present three distinct phases ; the spirit which animated the drama previous to the contentions between the crown and the parliament ; that which was displayed during the civil wars and the times of the commonwealth ; and that which manifested itself after the Restoration, and the establishment of the House of Orange on the throne. The mass of dramatic pieces in each of these sections of history, bears on its front the visible imprints of the public feeling and sentiment of the times.

In the time of Henry VIII. the stage teemed with dramas, composed of a mixture of polemical divinity, and of the general reformed sentiments of the conti-

nent. In the play of "Lusty Juventus," the youth of the day are represented as gospellers, or friends to the reformation, and the old people as being remarkably tenacious of their own creeds. The devil is introduced, lamenting the downfall of superstition.

"The olde people would believe stil in my lawes
But the yonger sort leade them a contrary way,
They wyl not beleve, they playnly say,
In olde traditions, and made by men," &c.

"Hypocrisy," one of the actors, urges,

"The worlde was never meri
Since chyldren were so boulde ;
Now every boy will be a teacher,
The father a fool, the chyld a preacher."

Some years before the days of Charles I. the drama generally confined itself to the prevailing social topics of the hour—not aiming at becoming a very obtrusive political instrument. During the parliamentary struggles, and the influence of puritanical doctrines, the theatre was thrown into the back-ground. On the restoration of Charles II. political sentiments became again extensively incorporated with dramatic representations. The order of the day was for the most extravagant eulogiums on the value and sacredness of princes, and on the importance of monarchical principles of legislation generally. The heads of the theatrical poets run quite wild on these points ; and even Dryden himself was compelled to cater to the depraved and morbid feelings of the day.

Lord Landsdowne, in his "Essay on Unnatural Flights of Poetry," describes the causes of this state of things among the dramatists of the age.

“ Our king return'd, and banished peace restor'd,
 The muse went mad to see her exiled lord ;
 On the crack'd stage the bedlam heroes roar'd,
 And scarce could speak one reasonable word,
 Dryden himself, to please a frantic age,
 Was forced to let his judgment stoop to rage ;
 To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,
 Complied to custom, but not err'd by choice ;
 Deem then the people's, not the writer's sin,
 Almanzor's rage, and rants of Maximin.”

That great instrument, the *Newspaper Press*, which in modern times has obtained such wide-spread political power over the minds of civilised communities, was, in the period of history now under consideration, of little or no importance. The origin and early progress, however, of such a gigantic and efficient organ of opinion, are both interesting and curious.

It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that printed sheets, containing public intelligence, were circulated among the people of England. The earliest specimens of these are among the “ Historical Collections” of Dr. Birch, now in the British Museum, and relate to the descent of the Spanish Armada. These papers were published under the name of “ The English Mercurie, published by authoritie for the contradiction of false Reports;” and the last number of this publication contains an account of Elizabeth's thanksgiving at St. Paul's for the signal victory she had obtained over the enemies of her country.

After the discontinuance of this paper, many years elapsed before anything in the shape of a newspaper was published. The next adventure of the kind appeared under the title of “ News out of Holland,” in 1619, and was followed by other publications of a

similar stamp, containing intelligence from different countries during the years 1620, 1621, and 1622. In the last year, the Thirty Years' War commenced, and the movements of Gustavus Adolphus creating intense interest in this country, the two events gave rise to the publication of the "News of the Present Week," edited by Nathaniel Butter, which was the first regularly established weekly newspaper in England.

In a few years after this the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament commenced. This event changed the character and vastly increased the number of periodical publications. The newspaper of the day was not now exclusively confined to foreign intelligence, but embraced home news and domestic occurrences, now becoming extremely interesting from the conflicts of opposing parties. These works were spread in every direction under the names of "Diurnals," "Special Passages," "Mercuries," "Intelligencers," and the like; and were generally printed on a sheet of a small quarto size. It is said that about twenty of these productions made their appearance in the year 1643. Some of these were called "News from Hull," "News from the North," "News from Windsor," and so on. The names they bore were likewise, in many cases, quaint and singular. We find the "Scots' Dove" in stout opposition to "The Parliament Kite," or, "The Secret Owl;" "Heraclitus Ridens" set himself against "Democritus Ridens," and "The Weekly Discoverer," found itself tackled every week by "The Discoverer Stript Naked." "Mercuries" were especial favourites. There were "Mercurius Britannicus," and *Mercurius Mastix*,"

whose patriotic effusions were directed against the effectual extirpation of "All Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spies, and the like." In 1662 the "Kingdom's Intelligencer" was commenced in London. Among other novelties it took notice of the proceedings in parliament. Then came, the year after, Sir Roger L'Estrange's "Intelligencer," already noticed. This was followed by the "London Gazette," first called the "Oxford Gazette," having been issued at Oxford where the court was then sitting. This was published in 1665; and in three years after, the number of newspapers had increased to *seventy*.

L'Estrange was appointed licenser of the press; and issued a "proclamation for suppressing the printing and publishing unlicensed news-books and pamphlets of news, because it has become a common practice for evil-disposed persons to vend to his majesty's people all the idle and malicious reports that they could collect or invent, contrary to law; the continuance whereof would, in a short time, endanger the peace of the kingdom; the same manifestly tending thereto, as has been declared by all his majesty's subjects unanimously."

Newspaper speculations went on increasing; but great difficulty was often felt in filling them, small as they then comparatively were, with materials. The "Rising Sun" was published in Cornhill, on a sheet of fine paper, half of which was blank, that the purchaser, if he liked, might write his own private affairs on it, or the current news of the day. In some other papers the blank part was filled up with quotations from the bible. There was no daily paper till after the commencement of the eighteenth century.

There are several *parodies* to be found among the political writings of a satirical cast. Some of these are both witty and amusing. Marvel's parody on the speeches of Charles II., is one of the best of the kind. It is too long to be given in full ; but we shall quote a few paragraphs to show the style of the author.

"My lords and gentlemen,—I told you at our last meeting, the winter was the fittest time for business, and truly I thought so, till my *lord treasurer*, assured me the spring was the best season for salads and subsidies. I hope, therefore, that April will not prove so unnatural a month as not to afford some kind showers on my parched exchequer, which gapes for want of them. I can bear my straits with patience ; but my *lord treasurer* does protest to me, that the revenue, as it now stands, will not serve him and me too. One of us must pinch for it, if you do not help me. I must speak freely to you ; I am in bad circumstances ; for besides my harlots in service, my *reformado* concubines lie heavy upon me. I have a passable good estate, I confess ; but, God's-fish, I have great charge upon it. * * * The nation hates you already for giving me so much, and I will hate you, too, if you do not give me more. * * * I have converted my natural sons from popery ; and I may say, without vanity, it was my own work, so much the more peculiarly mine than the begetting them. They are all fine children, God bless 'em, and so like me in their understandings. * * * I desire you to believe me as you have found me ; and I do solemnly promise you, that whatsoever you give me shall be specially managed with the same conduct, trust, sincerity, and prudence, that I have ever practised, since my happy restoration."

There were a few *political catechisms* published before the year 1700. We have found the following somewhat amusing. "A Political Catechism, concerning the Government of this Land," 1643; "Catechism annexed to Henry Parker's Portraiture of the Kings of England;" "A Satyricall Catechisme betwixte a Newter and a Roundhead," 1648; "The Soldier's Catechisme, composed for the Parliamentary Army," 1684; and the "Rebel's Catechism" by Peter Heylin.

During the period of the Revolution, and to the year 1700, caricature was not much cultivated in England. Those caricatures, for example, upon Cromwell, and his friends, were of Dutch origin, and executed by Dutch artists. Even those which were extensively circulated in this country a few years after, and which referred to the South Sea Bubble, were from Holland.

We are told, however, by Warton, in his "Life of Pope," that, in the reign of Mary, when England was groaning under the Spanish yoke, the queen's person and government were held up to perpetual ridicule by prints or pictures "representing her majesty naked, meagre, withered, and wrinkled, with every aggravated circumstance of deformity that could disgrace the female figure, seated in a regal chair; a crown on her head, surrounded by M.R. and A. in capitals, accompanied by small letters; *Maria Regina Anglicæ*! A number of Spaniards were sucking her to skin and bone, and a specification was added of the money, rings, jewels, and other presents with which she had secretly gratified her husband Philip." There are likewise caricatures in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles I.*

* See Note B, at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL LITERATURE OF FRANCE, FROM THE YEAR 1400, TILL 1700.

At an early period of the reform movement in Germany, the political and religious opinions of the French people became influenced, to a considerable extent, by the doctrines of the new creed. But the reform notions which found their way here, were, as in most other countries, more of a religious than a political cast. Still they had a visible reflex effect upon the general ideas of government and law. No small portion of the social and political corruptions of France, at this time, rested upon a religious basis; and when the church began to be stripped of its infallibility, those institutions, unfriendly to liberty and human improvement, naturally felt the shock and became subject to discussions and suggestions of amendment and change. The kings of France were certainly, in the abstract, independent of the Roman see; but in the administration of governmental affairs, both general and municipal, arbitrary rule and priestly domination, prevailed to an unwholesome and ruinous extent.

It is requisite to premise that a knowledge of the external history of the political and civil institutions of France is indispensable to a proper appreciation of its political literature. Unless we have a general idea of

the form of government, the fiscal regulations, the municipal institutions, the religious tenets, and the ecclesiastical regime of the country, it would be impossible to recognise the progress of its political philosophy, and to estimate the value and importance of those successive changes of public opinion which the course of time developes. To guide the judgment we must always be looking from the present to the past. We must compare the opinions and sentiments of one period with those of another, and mark the successive steps of theoretical and practical legislation. It is quite obvious, for example, that English readers and thinkers will often be at fault in estimating the importance of French political treatises, from the sheer want of that portion of knowledge, which, as natives of our own country, we imbibe without almost any labour; but which cannot be obtained on the same easy terms, on foreign topics of speculation and practice. A foreign government is like a foreign language, which can seldom or never be mastered in all its comprehensive fulness, by one who has to learn it only from books or scholastic assistance. It must, therefore, be to the general principles of polity, that we, as strangers, must direct attention. These are the grand land-marks of all scientific knowledge; and it is by steadily keeping them before the mind that real progress is made from one generation to another in that most vital of all sciences—the science of congregated humanity.

It is a curious topic of speculation to contrast the nature and character of British expositions of political science with those of France in corresponding eras of history. Separated only by a narrow strait of twenty miles, how different is the development of general

principles in the two countries ! Who would imagine for a moment that such a trifling geographical distinction between two nations, rivals in arts and sciences, would display such a diversity in their aptitudes to deal with the leading maxims of legislation, and to turn them into useful and practical results. Yet what a singular contrast does the abstract social and civil philosophy of France present to our own ; and how different the political views and institutions on each side of the channel. Here we have the Saxon customs and principles of Alfred ; there our neighbours have the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, and the *Ordonnances* of St. Louis. Yet, amid all this diversity of thought and action, we can distinctly recognise points of affinity, grounded on the sameness and identity of scientific maxims of justice, right, and public expediency.

The university of Paris, from its civil position and privileges, as well as from the learning of its members, took an important part in the public proceedings of France. And this was particularly the case with that great section of it, called the *Sorbonne*, which, independent of its vigilance over theological questions—constituting its legitimate province—took upon itself the adjudication of all questions affecting the general principles of law, and the political rights and privileges of the citizens. Its eyes were constantly on the watch for every movement of the human mind towards liberty and improvement. In proportion to the weakness or distraction of the governments of the day, in the same ratio were the zeal and activity of this collegiate body invigorated and strengthened. Without possessing an actual independent existence of a civil

character, it, nevertheless, exercised over the mind of France a widely spread political influence and authority.

As a specimen of the sentiments of the University of Paris, in the early part of the fifteenth century, we shall lay before the reader the following carefully drawn up rules or maxims, on the policy and justice of taking away the life of any tyrannical person.

“1st,—It is lawful for every subject, without any command, according to moral, natural, or divine laws, to kill, or cause to be killed, every tyrant, who, through covetousness, or other improper motive, plots against the corporal safety of his king and sovereign lord, to deprive him of his most noble lordship; and not only lawful, but even honourable and meritorious, even when he is of such high power that justice cannot be well executed by the sovereign.

“2nd,—Natural, moral, and divine laws, authorise each person to kill, or cause to be killed, the said tyrant.

“3rd,—It is lawful for each subject to kill, or cause to be killed, the above mentioned tyrant, treacherous and disloyal to his king and sovereign lord, by snares; and it is lawful to dissemble and conceal the intention to do so.

“4th,—It is sound reason and justice that every tyrant shall be disgracefully killed by snares, and it is the proper death by which disloyal tyrants ought to die, to kill them disgracefully by wiles and snares.

“5th,—He who kills, or causes to be killed, in such a way, every tyrant, is not to blame in any respect; and the king ought not only to be pleased at it, but

ought to consider the action an agreeable one, and to authorise it as much as might be required.

“6th.—The king ought to thank him who kills, or causes to be killed, a tyrant in the above conditions, in three ways,—in affection, honour, and riches; in imitation of the remunerations made to St. Michael, the archangel, for the expulsion of *Lucifer* from the kingdom of paradise, and by the noble *Phineas* for the expulsion of Duke *Zambri*.

“7th.—The king ought to love more than before him who kills, or causes to be killed, the above-named tyrant in the manner stated, and ought to have his faith and loyalty extolled within his kingdom and without.

“8th.—The letter kills, but the spirit quickens; that is to say, that to always observe the literal sense in the holy scriptures is to kill one's soul.

“9th.—In case of alliance, oath, promise, or confederation, made by one knight with another in any manner whatever, should it happen that it turns to the prejudice of one of the parties concerned, or of his wife or children, he is not bound to keep it.”

These political principles, and others of a similar complexion, supported by the theological body of France and other sections of Europe, grew out of the systems of moral casuistry which the learned doctors of divinity had for ages adopted in all their academical institutions. Indeed, these systems were the life-spring of all their influence and power; and knowing and feeling this to be the case, they directed every mental faculty towards sustaining and developing them, and making them as theoretically perfect as possible. And in this undertaking they succeeded to an amazing extent. One generation of profound thinkers after an-

other had taken up the sophistical web, till they had made such a tissue of labyrinths that it became impossible for ordinary minds to extricate themselves out of them, without coming in contact with the church authorities of the day. Perceiving the intimate relationship subsisting between the moral duties of ordinary life, and those which appertained to the functions of citizenship, they jumbled them together; subjected them to the same rules of abstract reasoning—and drew inferences from the heterogeneous mass, that affected kings and governments, as well as the humblest subjects of the realm. What applied to morals applied to politics; and what applied to a king applied to a peasant. Being at the head of all private and public instruction, and taking under their auspices the entire moral sentiments and opinions of a nation, the learned doctors moulded and influenced them in such a manner as to bring the national feelings of a whole people to bear directly upon the great principles of legislation and government. The doctors knew that public opinion must necessarily consist of a collection of individual ideas and judgments; and, as they had always a full command over these, they could readily, on any given signal or emergency, turn the national will in any direction that suited them.

It is a one-sided notion, however, to conceive that the Roman catholic casuistical philosophy, on which the political opinions of the doctors of the Sorbonne rested, is one entire mass of error. It is not so. No system of pure and unsophisticated delusion, can gain a permanent hold of the mind of a nation. It is the mixture of truth with error that produces the real evil; and which renders its subsequent eradication a

matter of such labour and difficulty. The principles of all moral obligation being naturally involved in a certain portion of obscurity, and being susceptible of various interpretations, depending upon the different points of view from which they are contemplated, advantage was taken of this by the doctors of theology, and they played off one contradictory conclusion, and one moral sentiment against another, till they mystified the entire body of moral truth and evidence, and rendered the whole duty of man a mass of contradictions and puerilities. Every emotion and affection of the human soul was worked up into some fantastic shape, totally at variance with its healthy actions and aspirations. The principles and instincts which regulate communities of men were alike distorted, and pushed to mischievous and absurd conclusions. Indeed, the entire framework of social and political life became tainted to the heart's core, by a universal system of sophistical chicanery and logical drivelling, adopted and cultivated with indomitable pertinacity in all the public seminaries of instruction in France.

The number of moral treatises published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the doctors of the Sorbonne, was very great; their name, in fact, is legion. We cannot muster courage to make an attack upon the colossal assemblage. They all more or less touch on political principles and systems; and it would be impossible to lay our hands upon any one of these publications, that does not contain a considerable portion of what any rational political philosopher would pronounce to be sound and wholesome doctrine. But the true is so blended with the false and absurd, that to effect the separation is almost impossible. For exam-

ple, the doctrine which the casuistical doctors call *first intention*, which they so artfully apply to moral questions of common life, is only another name for that *intention* which really enters into every private and public code of morality upon the face of the earth ; and without the active presence of which no moral sentiment could exist, nor punishment or reward be given. Again, what the doctors call *probableism*, is only another term for private and public expediency, which forms such a necessary and important element in every system of social and political morality. But then the uses to which these admitted doctrines are applied, are so ridiculous and mischievous, both in private and public life, that we recoil, with a kind of instinctive horror, when we recognise our moral likeness in the mirrors of the Sorbonne. When a man's ideas of private morality become bedimmed, one of the great chances of making him a useful and enlightened citizen is lost. The system of political and moral casuistry besets the ordinary paths of life with thorns and briars, that legislative truths may be approached with difficulty and doubt.

Over the printing and publishing of all philosophical treatises, on politics and morals, the society of the Jesuits in France, whose doctrines we shall notice by-and-bye, had a complete control. Booksellers were prohibited from selling any such works unless the sanction of religious superiors was given to them. This was a fixed regulation, made law by Henry III., in 1583, and confirmed by Henry IV., in 1603, and Louis XIII., in 1612. Nothing, which did not breathe the spirit of the theological order, could be permitted to approach the public understanding. These

privileges were in the shape of official licenses. To be allowed to print in any form was a matter of great difficulty. Hence authors were driven to the expedients of getting their works printed at Geneva or the Low Countries; and often, to bring them before the public, fictitious names were appended to them.

FRANCIS HOTTOMAN.—“*Franco-Gallia*.” This work is chiefly a compilation from the early French historians, to prove what share of political power a people should possess over a government, and in the selection of a sovereign.

STEPHEN DE LA BOETIE.—“*Le Contr' Un; ou, Discours de la Servitude Volontaire*,” 1578. This author was the intimate friend of Montaigne. The aim of the work is to raise the mind above the servile fear of kingly power and authority. The following observations are taken from the treatise:—“He who plays the master over you, has but two eyes, has but two hands, has but one body, has nothing more than the least among the vast number who dwell in our cities; nothing has he better than you, save the advantage that you give him, that he may ruin you. Whence has he so many eyes to watch you, but that you give them to him? How has he so many hands to strike you, but that he employs your own? How does he come by the feet which trample on your cities, but by your means? How can he have any power over you, but what you give him? How could he venture to persecute you, if he had not an understanding with yourselves? What harm could he do you, if you were not receivers of the robber that plunders you, accomplices of the murderer who kills you, and traitors to your own selves? You sow the fruits of the

earth, that he may waste them ; you furnish your houses, that he may pillage them ; you rear your daughters, that they may glut their wantonness, and your sons that he may lead them at the best to his wars, or that he may send them to execution, or make them the instruments of his concupiscence, the ministers of his vengeance. You exhaust your bodies with labour, that he may revel in luxury, or wallow in base and vile pleasures ; you weaken yourselves, that he may become more strong, and better able to hold you in check. And yet from so many indignities, that the beasts themselves, could they be conscious of them, would not endure, you may deliver yourselves, if you but make an effort, not to deliver yourselves, but to show the will to do it. Once resolve to be no longer slaves, and you are free. I do not say that you should assail him, or shake his seat ; merely support him no longer, and you will see that like a great Colossus, whose basis has been removed from beneath him, he will fall by his own weight, and break to pieces*.”

HUBERT LANGUET.—“*Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*,” 1570. The author was a native of Viteaux in Burgundy, but died in the service of the Prince of Orange, at Antwerp, in 1581. He appeals to the Old Testament for his ideas of the offices and duties of a king. Those rulers who undermine true religion, or violate the laws of justice and humanity, lay themselves open to the just rebellion and retaliation of their subjects.

JOHN BODIN.—“*Republic*,” 1577. This is a large folio volume, of nearly eight hundred pages. It is divided into six books.

Bodin never dreams of disputing the foundation of sovereignty, nor calling it in question, as was afterwards done by many writers, both in England and on the continent. His notion of sovereign power is, that it is perpetual and unlimited. But then the author says again, that the prince is restrained by divine and natural laws*. He says the sovereign power is the image of God. He makes laws; institutes powers and magistrates; makes war and peace; judges without appeal; grants freedom; and incessantly maintains all governmental functions of the state by his arm and council†.

In the second book of his "Republic" he opens with a classification of the different kinds of government. He reduces them into three:—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; all other forms he refers to one or other of these primitive elements. Monarchy he subdivides into kingly, absolute, and tyrannical. Absolute power, he thinks, was the original form of all human societies, and it involves the complete authority of a prince over the lives and goods of his subjects. Kingly power, he speaks of with rapture; and considers the French monarchy, as constituted in his own day, the very height of perfection‡. Tyranny is defined by him to signify the power which any man exercises above the laws to inflict evil upon another§.

In the third book, Bodin enters into details which appertain to most forms of government. He treats of the senate, of its utility, and its composition. It should not, in his opinion, be invested with executive power.

In his fourth book, there is a great deal of inter-

* Cap. 8.

† Lib. i.

‡ Lib. ii.

§ Lib. ii. cap. 4.

esting matter relative to the origin of states, their rise to power and wealth, and their decline and fall. Here there seems a great struggle in the author's mind between his theological principles and his philosophy. It would not be difficult for the critic to point out many contradictions throughout the course of the author's reasonings in this part of his subject. Indeed, the same remark may apply to almost all writers who view the science of politics through an exclusively theological medium.

In the fifth book, Bodin broaches the question, as to influence of climate upon the genius of governments. He divides the human race into three grand divisions—the eastern, the western, and the mixed class*. In this part of his subject he shows great research; but fails to establish anything decisive on this long controverted point.

In the sixth book, the author goes into the consideration of the public resources, money, &c. Then he enters into a comparison as to which kind of government is the best suited for the management of these matters; and he gives the preference to a kingly or hereditary monarchy, such as France, which he considers as a model for all other nations to follow.

Bodin went considerably beyond the notions of toleration generally current in his own day and country. He thinks the consciences of men ought to feel the rod of authority with great tenderness. Hear what he says on this point. "The mightier that a man is, the more justly and temperately he ought to behave himself towards all men, but especially towards his subjects. Wherefore, the senate and people of Basle did

* Lib. v.

wisely, who, having renounced the bishop of Rome's religion, would not, upon the sudden, thrust the monks and nuns, with the other religious persons, out of their abbeys and monasteries ; but only ordered, that, as they died, they should die both for themselves and their successors, expressly forbidding any new members to be chosen in their places, so that, by that means, their colleges might, by little and little, by the death of the fellows, be extinguished. Whereby it came to pass that all the rest of the Carthusians, of their own accord, forsaked their cloisters ; yet one of them all alone for a long time remained therein, quietly and without any disturbance, holding the right of his convent, being never enforced to change either his place, or habit ; or old ceremonies, or religion before by him received. The like order was taken at Coire in the diet of the Grisons ; wherein it was decreed, that the ministers of the reformed religion should be maintained out of the profits and revenues of the church ; the religious men, nevertheless, still remaining in their cloisters and convents, they being now prohibited to choose any new person for them who died. By which means, they who possessed the new religion, and they who possessed the old, were both provided for*."

Bodin advances the opinion that all great constitutional changes in any government should be effected by gradual and slow degrees. "We ought, then," says he, "in the government of a well-ordered state and commonwealth to imitate and follow the great God of nature, who in all things proceedeth easily, and by little and little ; who of a small seed causeth to grow a tree, for height and greatness right admirable,

* Book iv.

and yet for all that insensibly; and still by means conjoining the extremities of nature, as by putting the spring between winter and summer, moderating the extremities of the times and seasons, with the self-same wisdom which it useth in all other things also, and that in such sort that no violent force or course therein appeareth*.”

There are, however, some dark spots in his “Republic,” which contrast curiously with its general enlightened and intelligent tone. He enters elaborately into the argument to prove that, in a well-regulated state, the father should possess the right of life and death over his offspring. He seems, likewise, to have believed in witchcraft, and to have thought it just and creditable for legislators to punish it severely.

Bodin was a most profound jurisconsult. He had studied the science in all its bearings and aspects. He was an enemy to the system of Cujas; but still paid great respect to his abilities. He had a most correct view of the Roman law in all its leading points; and seems to have studied it for himself, and to have preserved his own independent tone of thinking.

Bodin’s thoughts on jurisprudence are contained in a short work, entitled “*Juris Universi Distributio*.” The manner of treating his subject is anything but satisfactory. He puts and answers the following questions. What is jurisprudence? What is its precise form? What is right? And what is the substance or matter of right? The author then sums up the whole by a theory of justice which, in fact, is scarcely intelligible. He has illustrated his ideas by a refer-

* Book 4

ence to arithmetical numbers, and involved his matter in inextricable difficulties*.

MARC ANTONY MURET, was a French Jesuit, and the author of a work "On the Origin of Laws," published about 1582. The author grounds his notions of legal power and obligation on the constitution of men, and on the necessity for, and the obvious advantages derived from, a code of rules defining the limits of personal liberty and right.

"De Republica," 1590. The authorship of this work is a subject of controversy. It was written at the rebellion of the League against Henry III. of France. The treatise is systematic in arrangement, and, in many places, ably and eloquently written. The origin of society may be traced to the necessity and convenience of social rule and authority; and the author maintains that all kinds of magisterial rule must have been, in the first instance, elective. All the various forms of commonwealths have, in effect, sprung from the consent of the people, except such as are referrible to conquest. All sound governmental rules are of a compromising character; and hence we find, that when we limit the royal authority too much, it is injurious, by throwing too large a share of the democratic power into irresponsible hands; while again, nothing proves such a support of tyrannical power, as to hedge about the person of the sovereign with notions of divine right and sacredness.

In the second chapter, the author enters into the general doctrine of the right to depose political tyrants. No subject's oath of allegiance is binding unless the king abide by the laws; and this right of

* Lib. vi. cap. 6.

resistance to wicked sovereigns lies at the foundation of all the political institutions of Europe. The doctrine is likewise supported by the declarations of the church. In the third chapter, the author inquires what constitutes a tyrant? The answer is, one who despoils his subjects of their possessions, or offends public decency by an immoral life, or assails religion, or who exercises his regal authority to render his subjects heretical. In the fourth and fifth chapters, he maintains that all the forms of protestantism are worse than paganism, as they are less favourable to a virtuous life; and that Calvinism is the worst of all forms of protestant faith. The other portions of the work are full of the like invectives against the protestant community of France.

PIERRE GREGOIRE.—“*De Republica*,” 1597. Pierre Gregoire was a native of Toulouse, and born in 1525. He wrote a great number of works; but the above treatise is considered the most profound and learned. There is an immense body of information in the volume. The most interesting topics are on the equality of republics; the necessity of cultivating the arts and sciences, in order to reap the full benefit from social institutions; the effects of ecclesiastical authority on the state; the different species of monarchy; the influence of money on a nation; and the power and control of public opinion. All the remarks of the author are supported by numerous quotations from the ancient philosophers, as well as from the sacred writings.

BOUCHER.—“*De Justa Henrici III. Abdicatione a Francorum Regno*,” 1589. This work maintains the general doctrine, that the people have an absolute

right to depose and kill all political tyrants. He was attached to the political doctrines of the league in France, and pushed them to their utmost logical consequences.

FRANCISQUE LOTIN.—“*Advis Civils, contenant plusieurs beaux et utiles enseignemens, tant pour la vie politique, que pour les conseils, et gouvernemens des Estats et Republiques,*” Paris, 1584. This is an Italian production, translated into French. The work contains a number of detached observations on politics, assuming the appearance, in many cases, of axioms; and the truth of these is illustrated by examples taken from ancient and modern history. There is no system; no theoretical notions; no constitution-making. All is a fireside affair. The author compares the governing of a state, with the governing of a house. We must, in both cases, attend to many matters of detail; we must be guided by circumstances as they occur in the progress of life; and though general rules and principles are of great efficacy in both situations, yet there must needs arise many things to stand in the way of their universal application. The book, take it as a whole, is marked by good sense, and profound reflection.

“*Discours Politiques sur la voye d’entrer deuëmant aux estats, et manière de constamment s’y maintenir et gouverner,*” 1584. This is an anonymous publication. It treats of the general principles of government; and divides all the various kinds of civil polity into three orders; the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratical. The author thinks that the best form is that which is compounded of a due proportion of all the three elements.

ANTONIO PALAZZO COSENTIN.—“Discours du Gouvernement et de la Raison vraie D’Estat,” 1611. This is a translation from the Italian. It contains a description of various kinds of government; points out the real causes which bring states into difficulties; shows the necessity of incorporating christianity with the state; the pernicious influence of national luxury; and maintains that a government should sedulously endeavour to frame all its public measures so as to preserve as great an equality among the citizens as possible. All these abstract positions the author strengthens by quotations from some of the most enlightened legislators of antiquity.

RENE DE LUSINGE.—“De la Naissance, Durée, et Cheute des Estats, ou sont traittes plusieurs notable Questions, sur l’Establissement des Empires et Monarchies,” 1588. This treatise is directed more to the consideration of what may be termed the external means of creating and supporting the power of a state, than to the disquisition of abstract principles of policy. The work is divided into three books; namely, 1st,—On the means of retaining an effective military force, and of the great importance of attending promptly and energetically to the civil business of government. 2nd,—Of the utility of religion as a political instrument, and of the means of avoiding all unnecessary causes of popular discontent; and the third on divers matters which hasten the downfall of states.

In the first chapter of the third book, on the causes of the decline and fall of states, the author’s remarks are very excellent. He endeavours to show that it is always by some vicious mode of political misrule, long persevered in, that nations are precipitated to their

ruin; and that if rulers were more attentive to the true interests of their people, they would have a much longer lease of their dominions.

The author conceives that religious sentiment is indispensable to all states. It is the only security for the authority of the prince, as well as the rights of the people. All human obligation would be effaced from the minds of men, were there not a general idea of a divine being, who rules the destinies of our race. The entire current of ancient and modern history, most amply confirms the truth of this position.

PERE RIBADENEYZA.—“*Traité de la Religion que doit suivre le Prince et des vertus qu’il doit avoir pour bien gouverner et conserver son état contre la doctrine de Machiavel et des Politiques de notre tems,*” 1610. This work is from the pen of a Spanish Jesuit, and was translated into French by Antoine de Balingham, a native of St. Omer. In the first part of the work, the author affirms that history shows us that all states, no matter what was the particular form of their government, have found it necessary to call in the aid of religion to strengthen their hands. Without this assistance civil institutions would present but a scene of confusion and disorder.

GABRIEL NAUDE.—“*Considerations sur les Coups d’Etat.*” The author maintains the doctrines of Machiavel, and pushes them to their greatest extent.

“*Sommaire de la Felicité des Princes et Republiques,*” 1616, par F. D. E. F. This work contains an analysis of the ancient states and republics, and the author applies his remarks and illustrations to modern governments. His great aim is to draw lessons of wisdom from the experiences of ancient times, for the

purpose of guiding the conduct of modern statesmen and princes. The work is rare, and worth a perusal.

DOCTOR RICHER.—“*De Ecclesiastica et Politica Potestate*,” 1611. This work is chiefly remarkable for some particular circumstances connected with its publication. The Council of Sens assembled at Paris in 1612, under the direction of Cardinal du Perron, for the sole purpose of condemning this book as an *anonymous* book. The assembled prelates decided that the work was anonymous, though it had the name of Doctor Richer affixed to it. The merits of the work were not entered into; but the sole ground of objection was that it appeared without a name. The Council of Aix, in Provence, assembled the same year, and for the same purpose; and they did not forget the decision of their brethren at Paris as to its anonymous nature, though they assembled to condemn it upon other grounds. These grounds were, however, never stated to the assembly; but they confirmed the decision of the Parisian prelates, *that the book was published without a name*. This circumstance affords a sufficient indication of the general scope of the work, which is to place ecclesiastical power in a disadvantageous point of view.

M. A. PHEVENEAU. “*Precepts d’Estat*,” 1627. This work is dedicated to the king of France, and the writer informs him that it contains such sound and wholesome truths, as a good, enlightened, and religious monarch as he was, would like to instil into the mind of his son, the heir to the crown. There is excellent advice contained in this book, if crowned heads would read it, and profit by it. But history does not show that royal pupils, in matters of politics,

have ever been very docile or apt scholars. They perish, not from the lack, but from a superfluity of advice. The author touches on almost every subject connected with the stability of a government, and the happiness and power of the people. He considers the latter as the nerves, and blood, and bones of the body politic.

“*Les Politiques de Vincent Cabot*,” 1630. VINCENT CABOT, juriconsul, was born at Toulouse in the sixteenth century. He applied himself particularly to jurisprudence, in the early part of his life. In his latter years he undertook an extensive work on the nature of political science generally; but he died before it was finished. His manuscripts were placed in the hands of a friend, who, after having corrected and revised them, put them to the press in their present shape. The work is divided into five books, and these again into many chapters. The author enters very fully into all the abstract principles of politics; the formation of governments; the nature and extent of sovereignty; the paramount dignity and importance of political science; of religion, its influence and offices in the state; of the appointment of magistrates; public assemblies of the people; of the abstract nature of monarchy; what are the causes of political corruption, the mutations of nations, and their rapid decline from wealth and power, to poverty and feebleness; the origin of treasons, seditions, and civil wars; of offensive and defensive wars; and of the appointment and duties of ambassadors. All these various topics are treated of with great acuteness and ability; and the writer displays a most profound knowledge of all the ancient forms of government in Greece and Rome.

Cabot's notion on the nature of the social contract, seems to be, that the power of the chief magistrate arises from the same source as the authority of a parent over his family. The two situations, he considers, are quite parallel; and this is the only key to the right solution of this knotty problem.

FRANCOIS SAUSSOVIN.—“Du gouvernement et administration de divers Estats, Royaumes, et Republiques, tant anciennes que modernes,” 1611. This work contains general observations on, and an analysis of, the governments of France, Spain, England, Germany, Poland, Portugal, Naples, Turkey, Persia, Tunis, Fezzan, Ancient Rome, the Papal Court, Athens, Sparta and Lacedemon, Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Switzerland, Nuremburgh, Regasa, Utopia, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

DE MOUCHEMBERT.—“Essais Politiques et Militaires,” 1627. This is not a systematic treatise on politics, but only a collection of observations and remarks on various subjects, given under the form of *axioms*. There is a great fund of good sense observable in most of them; and the author displays considerable learning, and reading on political topics, of both an ancient and modern character. Many of the axioms are concisely and neatly expressed.

There was a small work surreptitiously printed and published in France, in 1650, called “Le Politique du Temps.” There were many pirated editions of it, throughout the French provinces. The work treats of the power and authority of princes; of the several kinds of government; and of what really constitutes the liberty, and civil freedom, and independence of a nation. It is a very able and well-written performance.

MARCO-ANTONIO DE DOMINIS, wrote his “De Repub-

licâ Ecclesiastica," in 1620. The work is in three volumes folio, and, on its appearance, was immediately condemned by the theological faculty of the *Sorbonne*. The liberal and enlightened view the author took of the nature of church authority, and the manner in which he endeavoured to point out its real and beneficial connection with civil power, were the chief objections which the government of the day urged against the publication.

The following rather rare French works, may be consulted by the politician with advantage.

MICHEL PICCART, "Observations Historico-Politico, 1652; BRILLARD, *La Bête à Sept têtes*, 1653; DUPUY, "Traites des Droits et Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane," 1639; CLAUDE JOLY, "Recuil des Maiximes pour l'Institution du Roi," 1652; KELLER, "Mysteria Politica," 1625.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the foundation was laid in France of that system of philosophy, which exercised over the whole of the following century such a remarkable influence on the abstract theories and reasonings of the political writers of this country. Descartes published his treatise "On Method," and his "Principles of Philosophy," works which contained the germs of a new spirit imparted to political science, in all its multifarious aspects. They struck at the roots of all old and received opinions; looked upon man in his complicated, social, and intellectual relations, through a new medium; and laid down canons of criticism for testing what was true, in every branch in the comprehensive study of human nature. Setting out with the broad principle that there was nothing true or certain, from any previous

criteria of truth, the philosopher, began to mould human knowledge according to his own fancies; and to those who adopted his creed, the first lesson they had to learn was to *doubt*. Doubting was as necessary to a Cartesian, as common air to the support of animal life. What could not be depended upon in metaphysics, and ethics, could not be depended on in general polity; and *vice versa*. Descartes said, in substance, to the politician, as well as to the cultivators of every other science, "You can know nothing of your subject, unless you look into your own nature, analyse your own consciousness, demonstrate the validity of your own existence, *cogito, ergo sum*; and then you are placed in such a position as to know something of the secret springs and elementary principles of society. Throw aside all previously received knowledge on the matter; it must of necessity be worthless, seeing it has not been submitted to the only test which can fix its value. Look then, to the inner man; to all the subtile powers of his mind and will, and you will find the real motives of his public conduct, and be able to mould your external machinery of government in strict conformity with them." This was the declaration of the new philosophy. And we can distinctly trace its influence over the speculative thought of French authors, from the day of its promulgation to the present hour. Indeed, Descartes's views took a firm hold of the continental mind generally; but their influence in Great Britain was very limited, confined chiefly to logical and mental systems.

LE BLANC.—"Le Monarchie," 1660. This small treatise is divided into three parts; the first showing what was the probable origin of kingly power; the

second, of its almost universal prevalence ; and thirdly, of the improvements of which it is susceptible. Several points of the general argument are well brought out, and the book is readable.

In 1671, BOSSUET wrote his famous "Discourse on Universal History," one of the most masterly productions of the times, in reference to many of the leading principles of political science. The author maintains that the doctrine of infallibility of the pope is unsound, and likewise that he has no right to assume the power of deposing kings. These opinions are said to have lost the bishop a cardinal's hat, as they were totally at variance with those entertained by Innocent II., in reference to the independence of the crown of France.

The eloquent BLZAC published, 1660, "Le Prince," and "Socrate Chretien," which were extensively read throughout France. The opinions and sentiments of these publications, are every way worthy of the honour and fame bestowed upon them.

AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE, 1680, is the author of "Political Discourses on Tacitus," in which he deduces some general principles of political science from the history of that famous Roman writer.

LENOIR wrote, in 1683, his "Recueil de Requêtes et de Factums," in which he treats at great length, and with much warmth and energy, of the rights of the people, and of the pernicious influence of theological domination. He was likewise the author of several other political works, breathing the same sentiments. He was brought before the court tribunals for his opinions, and was condemned to the galleys, where he died in 1692.

The amiable FENELON, Archbishop of Cambray, is one of the philosophical politicians of whom France feels proud. He wrote under peculiar circumstances, having been in trammels all his life; but his natural good sense, humane feelings, and sound judgment, led him to a decidedly liberal mode of thinking, both as to theoretical and practical matters of civil government. There are, however, throughout his speculations of a political cast, many contradictory opinions and sentiments, evidently the result of the intellectual bondage under which he was doomed to spend his days. When he takes up a sound and enlightened principle, he handles it like a man who is conscious of having many critical eyes directed upon him, eager to detect every little thing that could be turned to his disadvantage, with a tyrannical and corrupted court. Consequently, he falls into qualifying and compromising his opinions in every direction; so that it often becomes a matter of perplexity to detect what his real notions are as to many of the elementary principles of general polity. This is strikingly apparent in his more grave and serious essays which have for their professed object, the development of the philosophical maxims of the science of government, not as political diplomatists and intriguing princes view them; but as they should be examined and discussed in relation to the laws of nature, and the rudimental ideas of civil right and liberty.

Fenelon places the foundation of all political duties and privileges upon the basis of divine philosophy. This leads us, independent of revelation, to consider the Supreme Being as the common father of all social communities; and the several members of them as

faith towards foreigners, did they change in the least particular the rules of a free commerce, did they neglect their manufactures, or cease to make the great improvements necessary to bring each kind of merchandise to perfection; you would soon behold the fall of that power which you admire.' 'But explain to me,' said I, 'the method by which I may at some period establish a similar commerce, at Ithaca;,' 'Do,' he answered, 'as we do here: give a ready and favourable reception to all foreigners; let them find safety, convenience, and entire liberty in your harbours; never allow yourselves to be overcome by avarice or pride. The proper way to gain much is never to wish to gain too much, and to know how to lose at proper times. Make all foreigners love you; ever suffer somewhat from them. Fear to excite their jealousy by your pride; be faithful to the laws of commerce; let them be simple and easy; accustom your people to obey them implicitly. Punish severely fraud, and even negligence or luxury among the merchants; these things ruin commerce, by ruining the men who carry it on. Above all, never attempt to restrict commerce, in order to make it serve your own purposes. The prince should never interfere with it, lest he should restrict it; and he ought to allow his subjects who have the trouble, to enjoy all the profits, otherwise he will discourage them. He will derive sufficient advantage from the wealth which will flow into his dominions. Commerce resembles certain springs: if you attempt to change their course, they will become dry. Profit and convenience are the only things which attract foreigners to you: if you make commerce less agreeable and useful to them, they will gradually with-

draw, and return no more ; because other nations, benefiting by your imprudence, will invite their visits, and thus accustom them to do without you. I must even confess that for some time the glory of Tyre has been much diminished. Oh, if you had seen it, my dear Telemachus, before the reign of Pygmalion, you would have been much more astonished. You now find here only the sad remains of a greatness which is hastening to decay. Oh, unhappy Tyre, into what hands hast thou fallen ! Formerly, the ocean brought to thee tribute from all the nations of the earth. Pygmalion is in constant fear both of foreigners and his own subjects. Instead of opening his harbours, according to our ancient custom, to all the most distant nations with entire freedom, he wishes to know the number of vessels which arrive, the countries whence they come, the names of the men they carry, the trade to which they belong, the nature and prices of their merchandisè, and the time of their stay here. Still worse than this, he employs fraud to surprise the merchants, and confiscate their goods. He annoys those merchants whom he thinks most opulent ; he establishes new imposts on different pretexts. He himself wishes to engage in commerce, and every one fears to have any business with him. Thus trade is languishing ; foreigners are gradually forgetting the road to Tyre, once so pleasant to them ; and if Pygmalion do not change his conduct, our glory and our power will soon be transferred to some better nation, better governed than ours."

In the author's "*Dialogues des Morts*," we find much useful and political instruction, particularly for princes and rulers. He here takes his readers into